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THE HOME OF ROBERT DE BORON

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IN MY edition of the "Verse Joseph" of Robert de Boron, the poem which he himself entitled *Le Roman de l'estoire dou Graal*, I said: "Rien ne s'oppose ... à ce que Robert soit venu du nord du Doubs, de la région orientale de la Haute-Saône, et qu'il ait écrit son poème dans le francien-picard de l'époque, tout en gardant des traits de son dialecte natal." Professor Jenkins and I came to this conclusion after the former had subjected the language of the poem to a careful examination,¹ the results of which I summarized in my edition.

There remained, however, a problem in the text on which Jenkins and I were not in entire agreement, notwithstanding that the little I knew about Robert's dialect I owed to Jenkins. It concerned the word *juesdi* or *juedi*. The only extant manuscript of the poem reads at verse 318:

Dusqu'au juevesdi attendirent,
Et ce juedi chies Simon
Estoit Jhesus en sa meison;

and again at verse 894:

Menjei et tout mi compeignon,
A la Cene, le juevesdi.

It is clear that, if we consider *juesdi* to have—as it does in standard French—only two syllables (justified by its etymon *Jovis dies*), then the verses in which it occurs are each one syllable short. As Meyer-

¹ See especially *Manly anniversary studies* (1923), pp. 300-314.

Lübke pointed out (*Archiv*, CLXII [1932], 236), it is possible to amend the *Dusqu'* of verse 318 to *Dusques* and thus overcome the difficulty. But in the remaining two cases no such emendation suggests itself. Accordingly, I decided to give *juesdi* three syllables, and I printed the word as *jüesdi*.

There the matter rested until Meyer-Lübke, in the article mentioned, adduced two further examples; the one from *Amis et Amiles* (1293): "Le jüesdi absolu qui est grans"; and the other from the *Roman de Renart* (VIII, 203): "Le jöesdi de rovoison." Obviously, a three-syllable form existed, and Meyer-Lübke explains it by 'analogy' to *mercredi* and *vendredi*, the days of the week between which *juesdi* is hemmed in (*eingeklemmt*). He might, indeed, have mentioned *Span. lunes*, which owes its -s to a like analogy:

Como tres de los genetivos, Martis (esto es, *dies Martis*), Jovis, Veneris, llevaban una -s final, se añadía otra -s a los otros dos que no la tenían en su origen; y por dies Lunae se dijo Lunae-s, de donde Lunes, y por dies Mercūrii se dijo Mércuri-s, de donde Miércoles [Menéndez-Pidal, *Manual*, § 71].

Now the interesting fact is that the Burgundian town of Montbéliard lies in the region designated on the *Atlas linguistique* (chart 720) by the form *djüedi*, for Montbéliard appears to be the place in which Robert composed the "Joseph"; see verses 3489 ff.:

A ce tens que je la retreis
O mon seigneur Gautier³ en peis,
Qui de Mont Belyal estoit.

In any case, eighteen kilometers from Montbéliard lay the village of Boron, and all the linguistic evidence we now possess indicates that it was Robert's home.

But how came it that a native of Burgundy, before 1201 (see my edition, p. viii), was interested in material concerned with Glastonbury, England (vs. 3219: *Es vaus d'Avaron*), and the identification³ of Celt. *Bran* and the biblical *Hebron*? Following a suggestion of Francisque Michel, the late Hermann Suchier thought that the author of the "Joseph" was a certain Robert de Burun, mentioned in an Essex document, who about 1186 had received a gift from Henry II⁴ and

³ I am, of course, taking *o* to mean *ches* (see Birch-Hirschfeld, *Sage vom Gral*, p. 157, and my edition, p. viii, n. 1).

³ See Loomis studies (1927), pp. 135-45.

⁴ See Eyton, *Itinerary of Henry II*, p. 273.

himself had taken under his protection the monastery of Montreuil-sur-Mer in Picardy. About a mile and a half from Montreuil, at the village of Neuville-sous-Montreuil, there is today the Chartreuse de Neuville—a large Carthusian monastery resembling the Grande Chartreuse near Grenoble. Whether or not Montreuil had any Carthusian connections at the time of Robert de Buron, I do not know. The first English charterhouse was established at Witham, England, in 1178. But Henry II was interested in Burgundian monasticism. It was due to Henry that Hugh of Avalon—later bishop of Lincoln—was brought from the Grande Chartreuse and established at Witham (Somersetshire), on land belonging to Glastonbury Abbey and turned over by Henry to the new order.⁵ Hugh speedily became a favorite of Henry, who in 1186 procured his election to the see of Lincoln.

It is possible, then, that the Robert de Boron who wrote for Gautier de Montbéliard and the Robert de Buron rewarded by Henry II may be one and the same person. The connection between Burgundy and England was close at the time he was living. If he went to England before he wrote the "Joseph," Robert might easily have gone to Essex and would naturally have visited Glastonbury, with which his countryman, Hugh of Avalon, was indirectly associated. The very name "Avalon" may have haunted his imagination. The birthplace of Hugh was Avalon near Pontcharra, Burgundy; and, by the time Robert was writing, the English Avalon had been definitely identified with Glastonbury—the reputed burial place of King Arthur. Suchier went so far as to believe that Robert's source was a Latin Grail romance written at Glastonbury Abbey (see *MP*, XIII [1915-16], 681-84)—a belief that I do not share. On the other hand, the following conclu-

⁵ On Hugh as prior of Witham see F. B. Bond, *An architectural handbook of Glastonbury Abbey* (4th ed., 1925), p. 36; and especially E. Margaret Thompson, *The Carthusian order in England* (London, 1930), chap. III. Bond, whose testimony is open to skepticism (cf. his *Gate of remembrance* and *The hill of vision*), thinks that Hugh had a hand in the building of the Abbey. On this my architectural friends, Ralph Adams Cram and A. Kingsley Porter, both now deceased, were doubtful. French influence there may be, but to consider the so-called St. Joseph's Chapel at Glastonbury as "Burgundian Romanesque" is to be "simply inaccurate." On the other hand, Miss Thompson cites the Pipe Rolls to the effect that the monks of Witham received from the manors of Glastonbury Abbey £80 toward their living and £60 toward their works. The entries on the Pipe Rolls show also that the building at Witham was going on from 1180-81 to about 1184, the church itself not being finished until 1186-87. Armitage Robinson thought that the foundation charter of Witham bore the date of January 6, 1182, but Miss Thompson prefers Eyton's (p. 271) dating, September 14, 1186. In any event, Witham received funds from Glastonbury in 1182.

sions seem to me plausible: (1) Robert came from Boron in Burgundy; (2) he was in England during the reign of Henry II; (3) he wrote down his Grail story for Gautier at Montbéliard. Whether or not, in addition to the *Joseph* and the *Merlin*, he also wrote a *Perceval*, I do not know. But the searching introduction by William Roach to his recent edition of the *Didot-Perceval* makes that supposition extremely likely. Whatever else we may think about Robert, his home was Burgundy. Gaston Paris,⁶ once more, was right.

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⁶ *Littérature française au moyen âge* (2d ed., 1890), p. 99.

MANUSCRIPT FRAGMENTS OF A CONTINENTAL
FRENCH VERSION OF THE ROMAN
D'IPOMEDON

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THE only edition of Hue de Rotelande's *Ipomedon* which we possess is that of Kölbing and Koschwitz of 1889.¹ This edition, which has become rare, is unsatisfactory from present-day standards of scholarship. Two fairly complete manuscripts² and a short fragment (162 verses) of a third,³ all in the Anglo-Norman dialect, were used by the editors to establish the text.

The lengthy review of the edition by Mussafia⁴ in 1890 cleared up the complicated relationships of the manuscripts and proposed many excellent textual emendations. Koschwitz in reply to Mussafia⁵ gave his reasons for the imperfections of the edition. He had established his text piecemeal and at intervals without having studied it as a whole. His aim had been not to publish a critical text but to present merely a readable version of the romance to supplement Kölbing's edition of the Middle English adaptations of the *Ipomedon*.⁶ In 1891 Edmund Stengel in his turn published a long list of corrections to the text.⁷

Marius Esposito called attention in 1914 to a fragment of 6,048 verses of Hue's romance, found in a fourteenth-century vellum manu-

¹ E. Kölbing and E. Koschwitz, *Hue de Rotelande's "Ipomedon," ein französischer Abenteuerroman des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Breslau, 1889).

² Both in the British Museum: A = Cotton, Vespasian A VII, vellum, thirteenth century, fols. 39-104; B = Egerton 2515, vellum, early fourteenth century, fols. 3a-70c; cf. H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1883), I, 728 f.; cf. also the introduction to the edition.

³ Also in the British Museum: C = Rawlinson, Miscellanea 1370, single folio, vellum, early fourteenth century, containing vss. 10171-330, published by E. Stengel, *Zeits. f. rom. Phil.*, VI, 394-96.

⁴ "Sulla critica del testo del romanzo in francese antico *Ipomedon*," in *Sitzungsbericht der Kaiserl. Akad. d. Wissensch. in Wien*, Vol. CXXI (1890); cf. *Romania*, XIX (1890), 503.

⁵ *Zeits. f. franz. Spr. u. Lit.*, XII², 135 f.

⁶ E. Kölbing, *Ipomedon in drei englischen Bearbeitungen* (Breslau, 1889).

⁷ *Zeits. f. franz. Spr. u. Lit.*, XIII², 9 f.

script in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland.⁸ The last verse, 6048 (the full text of the romance numbers 10,578 verses), corresponds to verse 7698 of the edition, so that the fragment must represent an abridgment. The Dublin manuscript does apparently contain the first 149 verses, or a portion of them, which are lacking in B and for which we have only the faulty text of A (the X of Mussafia). It may also furnish a text of the 300-odd verses which the scribe of A omitted after verse 1142 and for which we have to rely on B, elsewhere inferior. It would be interesting to see if the Dublin manuscript has the curious passages in which mention is made of Hue de Rotelande's contemporaries, Hugu de Hungrie (vs. 5518) and Walter Map (vs. 7184), which we know only from A. Esposito gives us merely an *incipit* of two verses and an *excipit* of five verses, enough, however, to make it appear that the text of the manuscript is in Anglo-Norman. The manifest errors of versification and syntax in these few verses do not augur well for the quality of the rest of the text; but, in view of the mediocrity of A and B, the Dublin manuscript might prove to be of considerable service to the future editor of the poem.

The two new fragments of the *Ipomedon*, totaling 342 verses, which we shall now describe, are found on a single rectangular sheet of vellum (15 inches by 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches) which constituted the outer leaves of a *cahier* of what was evidently a large manuscript. Half of this sheet, bearing a folio number CVI, contains, recto and verso, verses 8502-8673 of the text. The other half, numbered as Folio CXI, presents, recto and verso, verses 9360-9531. As the columns of 43 verses are double, it is evident that four interior folios of the original *cahier*, containing verses 8674-9359, are missing. The manuscript was executed in France and was written with extreme care in a medium-sized Gothic hand of the middle of the fourteenth century on ruled vellum of fine quality with wide margins. The initial letters, of which there are five,⁹ are alternately red with blue border, and blue with red border, each with slender, short, marginal, vinelike, decorative flourishes.

The sheet of vellum, which has preserved the fragments, was used as a cover for filing notarial documents in the fifteenth and sixteenth

⁸ *Revue des bibliothèques*, XXIV (1914), 196 f.

⁹ Folio CVI, recto, vs. 8547 (red), vs. 8589 (blue); Fol. CXI, recto, vs. 9387 (red), vs. 9435 (blue); verso, vs. 9501 (red).

centuries. Folios CVI, recto, and CXI, verso, the backs of the cover, have suffered somewhat from wear, but the text is nevertheless everywhere intact and legible. Among the numerous pale and indistinct marginal scribbles, the name of a certain Loys Fromaget, written in a sixteenth-century hand, can be deciphered. At the top center of Folio CVI, recto, in a sixteenth-century cursive hand, appears the caption "titres a revoir 1596," and, immediately below, "Le Gon." On Folio CXI, verso, halfway up in the space between the columns, is inscribed in a fifteenth-century hand "Saint Saud." These names may represent the communes Le Gond-Pontouvre (Charente, arrondissement and canton Angoulême) and Saint-Saud-Lacoussière (Dordogne, arrondissement Nontron, canton St. Pardoux-la-Rivière), which are about fifty kilometers apart and through which our fragments may have passed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. There is no further trace of the wanderings of the vellum sheet until it was offered for sale in the catalogue of a Parisian book dealer in 1938.

These fragments, which we shall call D, represent a text of the *Ipomedon* very close to A, the basic manuscript of the 1889 edition. Where the readings of A and B are at variance, D in the majority of cases is in concordance with A, but the manuscript which served the copyist of D as a model was far more correct than A. Where D furnishes a reading independent of A and B, one has sometimes the impression that the Continental *remanieur* has modernized the text. Occasionally D corroborates emendations proposed by Mussafia and Stengel. In several passages, garbled in both A and B, D presents correct and satisfactory readings.

The chief interest of our fragments lies not in their critical value but in the fact that the manuscript of which they were a part was copied in France in a language very close to that of Central French. Whether Hue de Rotelande was a Norman or an Anglo-Norman, he lived in England, and the language of his romances shows some traits of the Anglo-Norman dialect.¹⁰ All the manuscripts of the *Ipomedon*, with the exception of our fragments, are copied in Anglo-Norman. The Continental *remanieur*, who followed scrupulously verse by verse the

¹⁰ Cf. Franz Kluckow, "Hue de Rotelande, Protheselaus," *Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur*, XLV (1924), 45 f.

text of the romance, skilfully avoided dialectal features in the rhyme as well as in the body of the poem.

The Continental *remaniement* of an Anglo-Norman poetical work is a fairly rare phenomenon, as Gaston Paris points out.¹¹ He places in this category only the *Saint Brendan* of Beneit (1125) in a Picard copy, the *Vie de Sainte Catherine* (twelfth century) of the English nun Clemence of Barking, and the *Amadas et Idoine* (ca. 1220) in a copy made in the Artois. He adds: "Il serait intéressant de retrouver d'autres cas semblables." We know that Hue's work was read in Germany, probably as early as the thirteenth century.¹² We have no evidence, except that of our fourteenth-century fragments, that Hue's *Ipomedon* was known and read in France.

We have now a satisfactory edition of Hue's *Protheselaus* (cf. n. 10 above). It is to be hoped that *Ipomedon*, which, according to Gaston Paris, is "infiniment supérieur" to Hue's other work and which is so important for cultural and literary history, will soon find a competent editor. The way for a new edition has been well prepared, as we have pointed out.

The text of the fragments, which we present below, is an exact transcription of the manuscript without emendation. We have merely lengthened the abbreviations and added a provisional punctuation to facilitate reading. Brief notes indicate the interest and value of the manuscript of which the fragments were a part. This manuscript of the fourteenth century was an excellent one and its loss is to be regretted.

FIRST FRAGMENT

[Calabre, realm of La Fièrre, niece of King Meleager of Sezile, is being devastated by Leonin d'Inde Majur, a hideous person. None of the knights of Meleager's court had wished to accompany Ismene, "damoisele" of La Fièrre, to Calabre, to take up her defense. Ipomedon, disguised as a "fol chevalier," goes with her against her will. On the way Ipomedon overcomes

¹¹ Cf. *Mélanges de littérature française du moyen âge* (Paris: Mario Roques, 1912), pp. 328-29.

¹² It seems to have been known to Wolfram von Eschenbach (first quarter of the thirteenth century). Ulrich Füeteler (fifteenth century) mentions the *Ipomedon* at the end of his *Lancelot* in a list of romances which he knew. Cf. Kluckow, p. 43; *Germanistische Studien*, II (1876), 154; L. Constans, *Le Roman de Thèbes* ("SATF"), II, clxvi.

Leonin's cousin Maugis in single combat. Not long after, Creon, another knight of Leonin, appears. The combat between Ipomedon and Creon has just begun as our passage opens.]

- * * * * *
- | | | |
|------|--|--------------|
| 8502 | Le haubere saffré li desmenti,
Plusors des mailles a rompu; | CVI, recto a |
| 8504 | Il l'a auques em bas feru,
Par mi la cuisse le feri.
Creon fu preus, pas ne chaï;
Tout si comme il estoit navré, | |
| 8508 | A il sachié le branc letré,
Sus en sòn hiaume le feri.
Le feu ardant après sailli;
Les .II. quartiers jus en abat. | |
| 8512 | Se li brans ne tournast a part
.I. pou par devant la ventaille,
Il l'eüst mort sans nulle faille.
Ypomedon le coup senti, | |
| 8516 | D'ire tembla et si rougi,
Eschaufe et art, d'ire esprent
Et de honte et de mal talent;
De La Fiere se pourpensa | |
| 8520 | Et d'Ymaine qui l'esgarda.
Il ne fu mie trop musart,
De soi vengier li semble tart.
Ymaine, qui le vit feru, | |
| 8524 | Comment qu'il soit, dolente en fu.
Ypomedon l'espee hauce;
Il n'ot pas le cuer en la chauce,
En travers son chief l'a feru, | |
| 8528 | Si que o le branc esmoulu
Toute l'oreille destre em prent,
Del cheval a terre l'estant.
Au nain a livré le destrier, | |
| 8532 | Dist lui qu'il en face sommier;
Au los Ymaine, bien le gree;
Or porront errer grant journee.
Creon .I. sien vallet avoit, | |
| 8536 | Qui en l'eur del bois l'atendoit.
Quant vit a terre son seignour,
Mené li a .I. chaceour.
Ypomedon monter le fait, | |

- 8540 A son seignor aler l'en let
Et si li mande bien, sans faille,
La Fiere n'avra sans bataille.
Cui chaut? Ainçois li fu moustré:
- 8544 Maugis li avoit tout conté,
Et cist Creon, qui puis revint,
Li a conté con il avint. CVI, recto b
Imaine est vezie et sage,
- 8548 Auques estrive en son corage,
Dist: "Se cist fust le plus sage home
Et le plus fol deci a Rome,
Et itele oeuvre eüst empris,
- 8552 Si n'eüst il de riens mespris
Se pour ce non que fol le voi;
Pour tant sel doi mener o moi.
Assés tost que si pas ne vet,
- 8556 N'est pas si fols con il se fait;
Ne sai s'il oeuvre folement,
Mais molt se combat sagement.
Molt ai oi dire souvent,
- 8560 Sens estuet o grant hardement,
Et convient o chevalerie
Et sens et mesure et voisdie.
Se cist n'eüst auques de sens,
- 8564 Il n'eüst ja mais a nul tens
Conquis .ll. si bons chevaliers;
Fole, assés tost de .ll. milliers
N'avroit ja mais l'aventure,
- 8568 Car il est fols et sans mesure,
Et pour tel le tindrent .lll. mile
En la court le roy de Sezile,
Ou ot maint mieudre chevalier
- 8572 Pour .l. molt haut droit desraisnier.
Con fols parti, con fols y vint,
Et con fols pres de moi se tint,
Con fols se contient, con fols vet,
- 8576 Com fols parole et dit et fait;
Fole chiere a, con fols se derve,
Com fols fait et con fols rit et resve."
Au disner s'assiet la pucele,
- 8580 Priveement le nain apele:
"Faites ce fol ça aprochier,
Viengne ceens o nous mengier."
Li nains Ymaine molt mercie,

- 8584 Au chevalier vient, si li prie
Et il li dist que non fera.
Tout de gré folement parla,
Respont par semblant de grant ire:
- 8588 "La putain me volt faire ocirre CVI verso a
Hier au disner et hui cest jour.
Andui erent si lecheour."
Li nains l'oï, molt li pesa,
- 8592 Arriere vint, mot ne sona.
Ymaine l'out oï molt bien
Et dist: "Crrrés me vous de rien?
Ne savés vous que l'en repreuve
- 8596 Une rien que l'en souvent trueve?
Tiex trueve en vezié et sage,
Qui tuit son fol de lor corage;
Savoir ne vueulent ce qu'il voient
- 8600 Ne ce qu'il sevent pas ne croient;
Si est il ore, amis, de vous."
Et vous le nain trop angoissous:
"Damoisele, vous avés tort,
- 8604 Pour vous a esté pres de mort,
Et puis ne vous en merveilliés
S'il en son cuer est courouciés:
Ainc bel semblant ne li feïstes
- 8608 Ne bien ne mal ne li deïstes.
Cil s'aïre legierement
A cui de l'uevre auques apent;
Cil qui tous jours sert sans eür,
- 8612 De molt grant bien n'est asseür.
Ou cist est trop meseüreus
Ou vostre cuer trop orgueilleus."
Li nains sert bien Ypomedon,
- 8616 Et son servise estoit molt bon.
Quant il ont a loisir disné,
Sor lor chevaus resont monté,
Et se painent de tost errer.
- 8620 Herbergié sont a l'avesprer
En une vile molt mauvaise,
Ne truevent nul ostel a aise;
Li ostel y sont molt estrois.
- 8624 Ypomedon a cele fois
En meïsme l'ostel descent.
Ymaine ne greva noient,
Car el s'est souvent pourpensee

- 8628 Qu'il l'avoit de honte gardee.
Ypomedon se desarma;
Li nains de bon cuer li aida.
Quant li nains l'avoit desarmé,
8632 D'un court mantel l'a affublé;
D'escarlate estoit, noir dedens;
En estant fu merveilles gens.
Il out une courte chemise,
8636 Camoisiee d'estrangle guise,
Chauces ot d'un vermeil essai.
Je ne puis dire ne ne sai
Comme il ert biaux et aligniés
8640 De corps, de jambes, et de piés.
De chief, de col, out grant biauté,
S'il ne se fust si desguisé.
Li nains li a .l. tapis mis;
8644 Ypomedon s'i est assis.
Ymaine l'ot esgardé molt:
Dahé ait, s'el ne l'amot!
Non ait, a Dieu foi, qu'il ne veut
8648 Pour La Fiere dont il se deut.
Ymaine esgarde sa biauté,
Et son corsage a avisé,
Ens en son cuer assés le prise,
8652 Molt se repent d'estrangle guise
Qu'el l'ot si estrangle tenu,
Car coustume ert et est et fu:
Celui que femme plus harra,
8656 Quant son cuer li rechangera,
Si iert cil de li amé plus;
Et si ront eles .l. autre us:
Celui qu'eles plus ameront,
8660 Pour pou de chose plus harront,
Si que plus tost recouvreront
L'estrangle que cel ne feront
Qui a pover l'avroit servi.
8664 J'en sai le voir, pour ce le di.
Ymaine change son corage,
Bien sot qu'el n'ot pas fait que sage
De ce qu'ele out fait tel desroi.
8668 Le nain a apelé a soi
Et si li connoist sa folie;
Et li nains, que Diex benefe,
A dit: "Diex en soit aourés!"

CVI, verso b

- 8672 Et li rendi graces et gres.
 8673 Ymaine estoit courtoise et sage

* * * * *

SECOND FRAGMENT

[Ismene is now desperately in love with Ipomedon. The latter meets Leander, brother of Leonin, and slays him. The news reaches Leonin, who swears vengeance. Arriving before besieged Candre, Ipomedon sends Ismene to her mistress, La Fièrre, in the city. Our fragment begins in the midst of a dialogue between Ipomedon and Egeon, his "corlieu," who brings him news of the situation in the town and of the movements and equipment of Leonin.]

- * * * * *
- | | | |
|------|--|--------------|
| 9360 | "Oil, tel duel a el pais
De noise, de cri, de plorer,
Onques n'oi de tel parler."
"Et Leonin veïstes vous?" | CXI, recto a |
| 9364 | "Oil, con le plus orgueilleus
Qu'au jour d'ui soit el mont veü;
Par le pais lieve tel hu
Ensement con se tout fust sien; | |
| 9368 | Il siet sor .l. noir cheval bien,
Et noire lance et noir penon,
Sele dont noir sont li arçon,
Li escus noirs qu'il a au col!" | |
| 9372 | Ypomedon dist: "Or sui fol,
Des or porroie trop atendre,
La Fièrre se voudra ja rendre!"
Son cheval noir a demandé, | |
| 9376 | Delivreement i est monté
Et prent la lance noire el poing,
L'escu noir qu'est bon au besoing.
Ses homes dist qu'o son hernois | |
| 9380 | Viengnent après a l'our del bois
Et auques pres de lui se tiengnent,
Quex aventures qui aviengnent;
Et il le font tout ensement | |
| 9384 | Si comme .l. quarrel se destent.
Bien sot la voie et le chemin
Ou il doit trouver Loonin.
Ipomedon del bois issi. | |
| 9388 | Cil Diex, qui onques ne menti,
De mort et d'enconbrier le gart!
Molt a afaire a mal gaaignart | |

- Et sorcuidié et orgueilleus
 9392 Et grant et fier et aïreus.
 La Fiere issir voit le vassal.
 Ymaine avise le cheval,
 Si l'avoit molt bien conneü
 9396 Et sot bien qu'a Leander fu.
 Comment? le dirai vous par ont:
 Par une estoille qu'ot el front.
 Nuls n'em prist garde for que li;
 9400 Nel volt dire, bien se couvri.
 Bien connut que c'est ses amis
 Qu'o li fu venus el païs;
 Le nain apele et li deffent
 9404 Qu'a nulli n'en parolt noient.
 La Fiere prent toute a fremir,
 Quant vit celui del bois issir,
 Et a dont a Ymaine dit:
 9408 "Ma damoisele, con je cuit,
 Que icil chevaliers la est,
 Qui vous guerpi en la forest."
 "Non est, ma dame, chiere amie,
 9412 Car tiex armes n'avoit il mie."
 Tout li pueple quant l'ont veü,
 A genoillons sont tuit cheü
 Et prient Dieu le creatour,
 9416 Que il li doinst joie et honour,
 Qu'il se combat par sa franchise
 Pour euls oster de cuvertise.
 Auques s'en esjoï La Fiere,
 9420 Mais ce li empira sa chiere,
 Que li vassel sont andui noir,
 Si que nuls ne pourra savoir
 Qui est desus ne qui desoubz,
 9424 Car deceü en ierent tous.
 Ymaine molt bien le savra,
 Vers sa dame le celera;
 Je cuit, comment qu'il fust de blasme,
 9428 Ele en fors partirot sa dame,
 Car sil est fols selonc la loi,
 Qui nul autre aime plus de soi;
 Endroit d'avoir bien et honour,
 9432 Molt y mesprennent li plusour,
 Car mains couvoite tel besoigne,
 Dont il a puis honte et vergoigne.

CXI, recto b

- Ipomedon se met avant
 9436 Et vet Loonin aprochant.
 Leonin s'arrestut em pes,
 Sel regarda et dist après:
 "Vassaus, se Diex vous beneïe,
 9440 Venés vous ci par aatie?
 Pensés vous dont si grant desroi,
 Que vous vueilliés combatre a moi?"
 "Oil, pour el n'i sui venus!"
 9444 "Vassaus, con fols estes meüs,
 Vous venés pour vostre damage,
 Si n'estes pas de mon lignage."
 "Vous dites voir, je n'en sui pas:
 9448 Je sui de haut et vous de bas."
 "Et de quel parage estes vous?"
 "Rois m'engendra tout a estrous."
 "Estes bastars ou moullerés?"
 9452 "De roïne espouse fui nes."
 "Or me redites, dans vassaus,
 Dont vous est venus cil chevaus?"
 Et cil respont: "Et vous que chaut?
 9456 Mais or l'ai ci, se Diex me saut."
 "Il fu mon frere le destrier;
 Vous y venistes de legier."
 "Que savés vous?"—"Jel sai molt bien,
 9460 Vous n'i païstes onques rien."
 "Si fis, par Dieu, .l. coup de lance."
 "Et vous en faites ja vantance!"
 "Non fais, mais je vous di tout voir
 9464 Si voudroie le vostre avoir."
 "Molt avés a esperonner,
 Ains que la me puissiés mener.
 Dites, dant fole creature:
 9468 Voulés vous metre en aventure
 Et vostre corps et vostre vie
 Pour La Fiere qui est m'amie?"
 "Vostre amie n'est el noient,
 9472 Qu'amée l'ai molt longuement
 Et mainte paine en ai eüe,
 Se Dieu plaist, ne l'ai pas perdue."
 "Certes, si avés, biaux amis,
 9476 Paine et travail et li neïs."
 "Dans chevaliers, ne savés vous
 Pieça que l'en dit a estrous?

CXI verso a

- Se je bien m'en fusse entremis,
 9480 Il n'est pas fors en moi remis,
 Car, certes, souvent m'a mandé
 Que sor tous autres m'a amé,
 Et vous cuidiés pour sa folie,
 9484 Qu'ele soit vostre bone amie?"
 "Li vilains sagement repreuve
 Que li fols amans souvent trueuve:
 De parfont sens a si petit
 9488 Qu'il croit quanque femme li dit.
 Je eüsse fait pieça mon preu, CXI verso b
 Mais je vueil que tiengne son lieu;
 Mais nuls n'ose vers moi meprendre
 9492 La bataille pour li defendre.
 Et se vous y venés pour ce,
 Pour musart nâis vous tieng je,
 Si me poise de vostre rage,
 9496 Car molt vous voi de bel corsage;
 Poise moi se par moi morés;
 Faites bien si vous en alés,
 Car bonement vous doing congié,
 9500 De vous harroie avoir pechié."
 Ipomedon forment s'aïre,
 Irieement commence a dire:
 "Dant vassal, molt avés paroles,
 9504 Et si sont vilaines et foles.
 N'avés oï dire en respit,
 Que de fol home vient fol dit?
 Cuidiés me vous faire esmaier
 9508 Par dire ne par menacier?
 Or vous di bien, comment qu'il aille,
 La Fiere n'avrés sans bataille."
 "Comment! Est ce donques a certes?
 9512 Vous en avrés males desertes."
 "Avoi! se Dieu plaist, non avrai;
 Mais une rien entent et voi:
 Vous parlés molt de teste saine,
 9516 Car vous povés a pou de paine
 Secours avoir .M. chevaliers,
 Et je sui seuls et estrangers,
 Si n'iert pas grant chevalerie,
 9520 Se vous si conquerés amie."
 "Se Diex me saut," fait Leon ... ,
 "N'en aiés garde, biaux amis,

8502

8508

8512

8514

8516

8517

8538

8547

8549

8552

8554

8555

8567

8578

8597

8610

8620

8621

- Ja par nul d'euls n'avrai aïe,
 9524 Se devoie perdre la vie."
 A tant s'eslesse vers sa gent,
 Commande que delivrement
 Se traient lués el bois arriere,
 9528 Que nuls d'eulz en nule maniere
 Ne se mueve pour nule rien,
 Comment qu'il li voit mal ou bien.
 9531 Ses homes ont fait son commant.

NOTES

A = Brit. Mus. Cotton, Vesp. A VII

B = Brit. Mus. Egerton 2515

D = Text of fragments published above

8502. A and B *L'osberc*
 8508. A *Saché ad le b. l.*; B *Saché od le b. l.*, both lacking a syllable.
 8512. A *a plat*; B *en plat*, furnishing the correct rhyme.
 8514. A *Led merc li eüst fait s. f.*; B *L. marche* The editors adopt B. Musafia justifies A. The verse seems to have been made over in D.
 8516. A *rui*; B *rovy*
 8517. The verse lacks a syllable; supply *et* (A) after *art*.
 8538. A *Mené li ad a un ch.*; B *M. ad un ch.* D furnishes the correct reading as conjectured by Muss.
 8547. Verse imperfect in all manuscripts. Supply *et* before *vezie*.
 8549. A and D *sage h.*; B *lache h.*, the correct reading.
 8552. Verse lacking in A and hopelessly garbled in B. The verse in D is excellent.
 8554. A *dut*; B *dust*. Stengel's conjecture *dei* borne out by D.
 8555. A *Allez tost k'issi pas ne vet*; B *Assez tost ke cil pas ne vet*. The verse in D justifies *assez tost ke* = "probably" (Muss.).
 8567. A *N'avreit il*, the good reading. For Muss., vss. 8566-67 are obscure. The sense is: he probably (*assés tost*: cf. note to 8555) would not run any risk if he fought two thousand knights in single combat because of his foolhardy bravery and his ease in disposing of the two already conquered.
 8578. A and B *fous set*. D preferable; suppress the first *et* as in A and B.
 8597. The older syntax calls for *veziés et sages* (B), which restores the meter, and *corages* (A and B) in vs. 8598.
 8610. A *ki la levere aukettes pent*. We have here, as Muss. points out, the proverbial locution: *cil s'aïre (cil pleure) de legier a ki la levre (or la lippe) pent*; cf. Morawski, *Proverbes français* 512; Littré, *lippe* (Charles d'Orléans). The scribe of D has not recognized it.
 8620. A *Herbergez*; B *Herberger*. D has the good reading.—A *al vesprez*; B *al vespre*. D has the good reading as supplied by Muss.
 8621. A and B lack a syllable. The edition supplies *mult* before *malweise*, corroborated by D.

8626. A *grua*; B *grossa*
8636. *Camoisiee*, the only *c* (Picard) for *ch* in the text.
8637. A and D *vermeil essai*; B *vermail soy*. Muss. believes B has the good reading: *soy* = *sai* < L. *sagum*; add a monosyllabic word to B.
8646. A *Dehez ait il, s'il ne la fut*; B the same but *heit* for *ait*. Muss. explains *fut* correctly from *foutre*. The edition has *l'afut* (*afuler*). D has introduced a milder term *amot* to the detriment of the rhyme, and has made *el* subject; supply *il* after *ait* as in A and B.
- 8661-62. Substitute *recouverroil* for *recouerront* and *feroil* for *feront*, following A and B and as syntax, rhyme, and sense require.
9365. A *Kar al jur d'ui seit el mund vivant*; B *K'a jur d'ui seit vivant*
9366. A and B *Par le pais vet hobelant*. Verses 9365-66 appear worked over in D with altered rhyme words.
9367. A *tout fust son*; B *tut soen fu*
9368. A *neir destrer bon*; B *Sur un noir destrer mountu*
9376. Substitute *delivrement* (A and B) for *delivreement*.
9380. A and B *A l'hor del bois venent* (B *vignount*) *après*. D has apparently avoided the Anglo-Norman rhyme *herneis*: *après*.
9390. A *gainart*. Substitute *gaignart* in D.
9397. A *Conut le dirrai*; B *Dount le conut dirra*. A is preferable to D because of the position of *le*.
9429. *sil* = *cil* (A and B)
9436. A *Et veut*; B *Et voit*. *Vet* (= *vail*) D is good.
9460. A and B *païastes*; D *paistes*, either scribal error or a hybrid form *païstes*.
9466. D *la* should be replaced by *le* (A).
9476. A *li neïs*. The edition has adopted *li enuys* (B). Muss. has explained the sense: "Vous avez perdu votre peine et votre travail et elle (*li*) aussi."
9478. A *l'euss(e)* in place of *l'en dît* (D).
9480. *remis* (: *entremis*) for *remés*; an Anglo-Normanism preserved in the rhyme; cf. Kluckow, p. 55.
9489. Make the elision: *J'eüsse*.
9491. A *vers mei emprendre*, the good reading.
9507. A *Quidez me vus estuteer*; B *vous moy estucier*. D has perhaps avoided an unfamiliar word in the rhyme; cf. *hobelant*, note to 9366.
9514. A and B *sai* (: *avrai*), the good reading.
9521. A and B *fet Leonins* (: *cusins*). The ending of the proper name in D is illegible.
9524. A *deive*; B *devey*. The imperfect the good reading (B and D) as conjectured by Muss.
9530. *voit* = *voist* (A)

LEVATION PRAYERS IN MIDDLE ENGLISH VERSE

ROSSELL HOPE ROBBINS

THE pious and literate layman in early fifteenth century England had a wide variety of material to assist him in his religious duties. As well as devotional and contemplative treatises for home reading, he had available Latin *Horae* and other collections of prayers for use in church; and, although it is unlikely that he understood Latin thoroughly, he may well have been able to recognize the various prayers and portions of the church services. But the use of Latin would be very restricted, and for more general use by the literate devout there were devotional books containing English prayers. Most of these prayers are in verse and, judging from our present state of knowledge, were not only more numerous than prose prayers¹ but circulated more widely. There are about fifteen Middle English poems known today designed specifically for use during the Mass; all, without exception, were to be said at the elevation of the Host and hence may be conveniently termed "levation" prayers. The consecration and elevation are the most solemn and sacred points of the entire service, and, since in times of great emotion the natural tendency is to revert to the mother-tongue, ejaculations and prayers in the vernacular arose to meet the demands of oral worship. We are fortunate in having a record where this tendency is seen at work: Iohann Busch was an expert Latinist, but in his personal devotions at the Mass he prayed both in Latin and also in Low German:

De Regina Dacie et oratione nostra: Regine iste precibus eius conscribi feci orationem per me Hallis compositam, quam etiam cotidie, presertim cum non celebraz, recitare consuevi etiam in teutonico. . . .

O suete Iesu, o ewighe god, O lieve here, dy my alle tyt an sietste, alle tyt

¹ Levation prayers in prose include manuscripts: Lambeth 328, fol. 168^a; Lambeth 546, fol. 57^a; Royal 17. C. xvii. fol. 98^b; Trinity Camb. 600, item 84, fol. 273^a (rubric: "A devoute prayer made by a devoute recluse to be sayde anone after þe levacion of þe sacrament, whane þe preste is at masse"). One prose prayer evidently had some circulation, for it is found in at least two manuscripts: Arundel 197, fol. 47^b, and Univ. Coll. Oxf. 123, fol. 74^a.

op my denckeste, ende my dat leven gegheven hebste, ontfarme di over my, wanneer sal ic dy sien, wanneer sal ic tot di comen, wanneer sal ic alle ghesapen dinghen vergheten ende di mynen sceper alleen lief hebben, bescouwen ende ghebruken. . . .²

There are other instances, too, where in the shock of danger or death men almost instinctively changed from the speech of their regular conventional life to one more fundamental. Edward I, when blown off the bridge over the Medway, prayed not in Anglo-Norman but in English:

Help wsvyf help wsvyf
Oiyer nu—I forga mi lyf.³

Both Bede⁴ and Ealred of Rivaulx⁵ prayed on their deathbeds in English rather than in Latin.

The same psychological factors were behind the growth of the English levation prayers. Frequently the levation prayer is the sole English in the whole Latin manuscript, because the spiritual exaltation at this sacrifice was the most intense of all services; on the other hand, all-purpose or household vernacular prayers are generally found in special collections of English devotions.⁶ For a similar reason, namely, that the vernacular was the language in which the worshiper thought, Latin prayers often have English rubrics which would more speedily attract the attention.⁷ Some of these English rubrics are quite long and tell a story, e.g., St. Thomas and the heavenly joys of the Blessed Virgin,⁸ or St. Bridget and the fifteen O's.⁹ But contrariwise, the meaning and ensuing value of an English prayer would be obvious and

² Karl Grube, *Der augustiner-propst Johannes Busch* (Halle, 1886), p. 787. Translation: "O sweet Jesus, O eternal God, O dear Lord, who lookest upon me all the time, all the time thinkest of me, and hast given me life, have pity on me; when shall I see thee, when shall I come to thee, when shall I forget all created things and love thee alone my Creator, see thee and enjoy thee. . . ."

³ Cotton Cleop. A. xli, fol. 64, printed *Arch. Cantiana*, VI, 45.

⁴ Thomas Arnold, *Symeonis monachi opera omnia* ("Rolls Series" [London, 1882]), I, 44.

⁵ Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, chap. xxxiv, p. 787.

⁶ E.g., Bodl. 3938.

⁷ For Latin prayers with English rubrics see the following manuscripts: Camb. Un. Dd. 6. 1; Camb. Un. Dd. 15. 10; Magdalene Camb. 13; Harley 2339, 2367, 2869, 2966; BM Addit. 27924; Lambeth 186, 599.

⁸ See Royal 17. A. xvi, fol. 28^b; Harley 210, fol. 87^a (rubric for Myrk's verse prayer found separately); Camb. Un. Add. 3042, fol. 132^a; Hunterian 472, fol. 2^a; Landsdowne 379, fol. 81^b, etc. See also Francis Wormald, *Loudate*, September, 1936, p. 5.

⁹ Harley 2869, fol. 204^a (about 100 lines in print); also in Harley 2398. For a parallel compare the story of St. John Evangelist's "Vision of the five sorrows," in BM Addit. 37787, fol. 161^a.

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need no outstanding rubric; thus many English prayers are introduced by Latin rubrics.¹⁰

Levation prayers, then, were primarily a native growth, the result of this emotional need for expression in the mother-tongue of deep personal thoughts by the worshipers rather than mere translations of well-known Latin prayers. Often simple ejaculations served the purpose, and the openings of many later levation prayers seem to hark back to this origin. I have discussed elsewhere the emergence of short popular prayers from extended ejaculations,¹¹ but I wish to quote here an early rhythmical list of apostrophes found appositely enough on the last page of a fourteenth-century *Horae*;¹² this is the only English in the manuscript, and, while there is no positive proof that this tag was designed for use at the Mass, in view of Lydgate's citation (which I quote below) such a use seems very probable:

Jhu Mercy, Jhu Mercy, Jhu ladi sone Seynt Mari mercy,
Jhu saviour of alle þe worlde mercy.

Text No. XI (following) is very primitive in its series of "Hail" apostrophes and a good example of the development of the genre. Lydgate had this elementary type of prayer-tag in mind, and not a longer and more formal act of worship, when he wrote his poem on the "Virtues of the Mass":

With all your myght, and in your best intent
Awayteth aftyr the consecracion
At lyfytng vp of the holy sacrament,
Seythe "Iesu, mercy!" with hooly affeccion;
Or seythe som other parfyte oryson
Lyke as ye haue in custom deuoutly,
Or ellys seythe thys compilacon
Whyche here ys wrete on ordyr by and by.¹³

Then follows a "Praier to the hooly sacrament." Lydgate envisages an ideal situation, discussed also in the *Lay folks Mass book*, where the devout worshiper would know a number of short prayers which would

¹⁰ See Texts XIIIB and XIV (reproduced here); this latter, however, occurs in a monk's book where a knowledge of Latin might be presumed.

¹¹ See "Popular prayers in Middle English verse," *MP*, XXXVI, 346-48.

¹² *Historical MSS commission, third report: MSS of Marquis of Bath*, p. 206; this is a variant of the Cambridge text quoted, *MP*, XXXVI, p. 347.

¹³ MacCracken, *EETS* (Extra ser.), CVII, 87, vss. 313-20; the following prayer occupies vss. 321-60 (see Text No. IX).

instinctively leap to his lips during the course of the Mass. Lydgate provided for a man who knew no formal prayer (such as he quotes) and who was illiterate; in such a case a "Tesu mercy" or some similar aspiration said with devotion would suffice. In the same way the *Lay folks Mass book* allows great freedom in the choice of prayers; it is itself full of isolable lyrics for use at various key points in the service, but, if the worshiper cared to use other prayers not included in the *Mass book*, he was at perfect liberty to do so.

Thus thou myght say or sum other thyng
When thou knelust at the sakerynge [vs. 655-56]

And again,

þof I mak hit here in lettir
þou may chaunge hit for a bettir

This circumstantial evidence points to a corpus of levation prayers known to the devout; and I have attempted to assemble all the existing prayers in such a corpus in the accompanying table. I append the texts of seven hitherto unpublished poems.

I

I þank þe ihū of al þy goodnesse—six lines.

1. Gurney, fol. 182^a.
- Robbins, *PMLA*, LIV, 374.

II

I þe honoure wiþ al my miht—five quatrains (compare XIV).

1. Bodl. 3938, fol. 115^a; 2. Balliol 316A, fol. 108^b; 3. Christchurch Oxf. 151;
4. Lambeth 559, fol. 32^a; 5. Quaritch Sale Cat. 328, Item 586, fol. 135^a.
1. Horstmann, *EETS*, XCVIII, 25; Patterson, *Penitential lyric*, pp. 70-71;
2. Robbins, *SP*, XXXVI, 472-73.

III

Ihesu my lord welcome þu be—vs. 42 including four introductory lines.

1. olim Challoner, fol. 206^a (Quaritch Sale Cat., 1931, Illuminated MS, Item 36).
- Brown, *Rel. lyr. XV C.*, pp. 181-83.

IV

Welcome lord in forme of bred—ten lines (compare VIII).

1. Gurney, fol. 182^a.
- Robbins, *PMLA*, LIV, 373-74.

V

Welcome Lord in fourme of Bred—six 6-line stanzas.

1. Bodl. 3938, fol. 115^a; 2. Bodl. 6922^a, fol. 26^a; 3. Harley 5396, fol. 273^a;
4. BM Addit. 37787, fol. 160^a; 5. Lambeth 559, fol. 25^a; 6. Berkeley,
item 3.
1. Horstmann, *EETS*, XCVIII, 24–25.

VI

Welcome louerd in likninge of bred—five lines.

1. Emmanuel Camb. 27, fol. 162^a.
- McGarry, *Eucharist in ME verse*, p. 224.

VII

When þ^a seyst þ^e sacrement—seven 8-line stanzas with rubrics by Audelay.

1. Bodl. 21876, fol. 10^a.
- Whiting, *EETS*, CLXXXIV, 62–65.

VIII

Welcome lorde in fourme of brede—an isolable prayer in the *Lay folks Mass book*; A, C, F texts, vs. 213–16; B text, vs. 428–37. Printed by Simmons, *EETS*, LXXI, 40. For other printings and complete list of the nine manuscripts see Brown and Robbins, *Index of ME verse* (New York, 1942), Nos. 1323 and 3507. Also see vs. 643–54 of No. 4149, “Craft of masonry,” largely based on No. 3507.

IX

Heyl hooly Ihū our helthe our goostly fode—“A praier to the hooly sacrament” being vs. 321–60 of Lydgate’s *Interpretacio Misse* occurring separately in one manuscript (occurs in eight other manuscripts as part of whole text).

1. Bodl. 798, fol. 30^b.
- Text of Trinity Camb. 601 printed by MacCracken, *EETS*, CVII, 87.

X¹⁴

Lambeth 559—late fourteenth century:

This praer here folwyng schold be sayd bifore the Leuacion fol. 24^b
dewouteli kneling:

¹⁴ Lambeth 559 is a small volume of devotions in English and Latin. The rubrics to the poems show clearly the character of the book: fol. 15^b: This orison here swynge schal be sayde vnto Oure Ladi Seynt Marie deuouteli and w^t kneling (*Index*, No. 1030); fol. 32^b: Thes prairis here folwyng been ful goode to say byfore Oure Lord deuouteli w^t kneling (prose prayers); fol. 33^a: Hayle Iesu Crist, the worde of the Fadur, Sone of the Virgine, the lombe of God, the Helthe of the Worlde, and Holi Sacrifice, God and Man, the Welle of Pite.

O merciful Iesu, for mercy to The
 I crie, swete Iesu haue merci on me.
 Lord Iesu, forzeue me mi misdede,
 And helpe me, Iesu, at mi nede.
 Lord Iesu, if your swete wil be,
 Graunt me thingis thre:
 That I may haue loue, * grace and charite.
 Lord Iesu, graunt me my bone,
 That I may haue good grace and fortune,
 Here in this world that I may here so for to do,
 That it may be plesinge to The, Iesu,
 And sauacion to my soule.

fol. 25^a

Amen.

In the worschip of God and of Oure Swete Ladi, and all the
 Holi Compani of Hevyn; and in forzeuenes of mi misdede.

Pater noster.

XI¹⁵

Royal 17. C. xvii—early fifteenth century:

Hayle Iesu! Godys Sone in forme of bred!
 Borne of Mary withowtyn syn;
 þou sawe me, Iesu, fro endeles dede,
 And þe to worcheppe lat me neuer blyn.

fol. 98^b col. ii

Hayle, Almyghty God in Trinyte! Blyssed be þou, Iesu, batte
 God and Man, in þi mageste Lorde of myght maste.

Hayl Hope! Hale Fayth! Hayle Charyte!
 Stedfastly Lorde I trowe in þe,
 A God and Persons Thre:
 Fader and Sone and Hely Gaste.

Hayle Lyfe! Hayl Merci! Hayle Hele! Hayle Pese and Pyte!
 Hayle warra Crystys Flesche and Blode
 þat flowed oute of þi precyus syde
 þat Longeus wyt hys spere opyned wyde,
 Iesu, qwene þou hange on þe Rode.

Iesu Cryste of me þou af mercy,
 And for þi precyus Passyon,
 Of my trespas þou af pete.

¹⁵ Written as prose throughout. The manuscript is difficult to read since many parts have been severely damaged by damp; in the last four lines the manuscript is especially illegible.

In thocht, in worde, in dede,
 Als I em gylty,
 Iesu, forgyf my syn.

And scheld me, Iesu, euer fra þe Fende;
 Graunte me schr and howsull at my laste ende;
 A luf of Mary þi blyssed Moder frende,
 Gude Iesu Heuen and ay lastyng blys. . . .

Amen.

XII¹⁶

Hereford Cathedral O. iv. 14—early fifteenth century:

Eyl! My Lord in wom Ich leue, (flyleaf, back cover)
 Sothfastliche God and man,
 þau art vnder breidis ewe,
 Also þou was boren of woman.
 Deþ þou toke of folk ontreue
 For oure gultes in Adam;
 þou make me in trouþe trewe,
 And graunte me þi blisse.

Amen.

XIII¹⁷

A

Cambridge Univ. li. 6. 2—fifteenth century:

O Iesu, Lorde, welcum thu be,
 In fforme of brede as y the se;
 O Iesu, for Thy Holy Name,
 Schelde me thys day fro sorro and schame,
 And lete me lyfe in trewth and ryght,
 Before my dethe hafe hosyll and schryfte;
 O Iesu, as thu were of a mayden borne,
 Let me neuer be for-lorne;
 And let me neuer for no syne,
 Lese the blysse that Thu art in.

fol. 98^b

B

BM Addit. 29724—mid-fifteenth century:

¹⁶ *Deþ*: capital *D* obscured. I am indebted to Canon Lilley of Hereford for sending me a photograph of this text.

¹⁷ There is a third variant of this text in the Gurney MS, fol. 189^b (vs. 12), printed by me in *PMLA*, LIV, 378. A. The Cambridge MS is an early fifteenth-century *Horae*, written abroad for use in England; the leuation prayer is repeated as prose on fols. 96^b–97^a. B. The BM MS is a *Horae* with psalms and a four-line tag in English on the Holy Name. The leuation prayer is written as prose.

*Quando corpus domini leuatur:*fol. 231^a

Iesu, my Lord, welcome thou be,
 In forme of brede as I the se!
 Lord, for Thynne Holy Name,
 Schelde me from worldes schame,
 As Thou were of a mayden bore;
 Ne lete me neuer be forlore,
 Ne lete me neuer so for-to synne
 That I forbere * the ioye that Thou art inne. fol. 231^b
 Iesu, Lord ouer alle thynges,
 Graunte me housel, schrifte, and goode endynges,
 Of ryghte byleue or I be dede;
 And housel be my last brede.
 Lord God, beseche I The,
 Will and strengthe Thou sende me
 Stedfastlyche to byleue in The,
 And hertely to louen The,
 And trelyche to seruen The,
 Grace and witte Thou graunte me
 Into myn endynges for charite.

Amen.

XIV¹⁸

BM Addit. 37787—early fifteenth century:

*Hec oracio dicatur ad leuacionem:*fol. 12^a

Welcome be þou, soule fode;
 Boþe, Iesu, God and Manne;
 For me þou honge apon þe Roode,
 þi bodi blike and wonne.

The water and þe blod out of þi side ron,
 Of my sinnes, Lorde, do me bote;
 Iesu, God and Mon,
 Graunt me þat I þe loue mote.

I þe honoure with al my myht,
 In forme of brede as I þe see;
 Lord, þat in þat Lady lyht,
 In Mari man bicomme for me.

Thi flesshe, þi blode, is swete of syht;
 þi Sacrement ouht honoured to be;
 Of bred and wyne þrouh word i-dyht,
 Almyhty Lorde I leue in þe!

¹⁸ Vs. 9 to end is a variant of No. II.

Camb

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I am sinneful, as þou wel wost,
 Iesu, þou haue merci on me,
 Ne suffur neuer þat I be lost,
 For whom þou dyest vpon a tre.
 And þrouh þat Ladi of myhtes most,
 Mi soule þou bringe in blisse to þe;
 Repentaunce or I yelde þe gost,
 Shryft and housel þou graunt me;
 Fadur and Son and Holi Gost,
 That regneþ God in Trinite.

XV¹⁹

Cambridge Univ. Gg. 5. 31—fifteenth century

A prayer:

fol. 4^a

Welcome, Lorde, in forme of brede,
 ffor me þou sufferd hard rede;
 As þou bare þe crowne of thorne,
 Suffer me neuer be forlorne.

Pater noster. Aue Maria.

All these verse prayers are of one pattern, although it is unlikely that they were consciously thought of as a literary form, such as the collect. There is the invocation to Christ, either "Hail," "Welcome," or "Honour"; with emphasis on the word "Bread," sometimes as a glorification. The grounds of the petition (events in Christ's life or the Holy Name), the petition (against sudden death), and the aspiration (for final bliss) complete the prayer. An outstanding feature of these poems, and one that is seldom sufficiently stressed, is their complete independence of Latin originals. The very popular and heavily indulgenced prayer attributed to St. Boniface ("*Domine iesu criste qui hanc sacratissimam carnem tuam etc.*") occurs, according to Wilmart,²⁰ thirty-one times in French translations in three different versions; it is not found at all in English, although it does occur in the

¹⁹ Added in the margin against the levation prayer in the *Lay folks Mass book*.

²⁰ *Auteurs spirituelles du moyen âge*, p. 378, n. 10. In connection with indulgences it might be observed that the indulgence is always lacking in the popular prayers but frequently present in the "private" prayers. In the fifteenth century indulgences for prayers in books produced in such wholesale fashion as the *Horae* are probably not verifiable. Text V in MS Harley 5396 (not a *Horae*) has an indulgence of 2000 years from Pope Boniface VI, who at that time (early twelfth century) allowed only 40 years for going to a cathedral: "Ho so euyr says þys prayer betwene þe leuacyon and þe iij agnys dey schal haue ij M ȝere to pardon Grantyd by pope Bonyfas þe vj." A more moderate allowance is for the "*Ave verum corpus natum*" in MS Harley 2399, fol. 40: "Whosoeuyr at sacryng tyme sayth this Prayer hath 300 days of Pardon."

original Latin in manuscripts of English origin.²¹ Indeed it is a curious phenomenon that very few English verse prayers, of any sort, are translations from Latin.²² Another significant feature of all these prayers is their prominence just at the end of the fourteenth century and beginning of the fifteenth; only one dates from the thirteenth century, and this occurs on an odd page along with Latin and French Mass prayers.²³ In a very obvious way, this corpus of prayers reflects the trends in religious development; the desire to see the Host when it was elevated reached its height about this period (ca. 1400). Du-moutet, in a rare pamphlet, alludes to this new manifestation of piety thus:

²¹ Royal 2. A. viii. fol. 61^a; Harley 1260, item 35.

²² See "Private prayers in Middle English verse," *SP*, XXXVI, 466. The following numbers refer to texts listed in Brown and Robbins, *Index of ME verse*: metrical paraphrases of the Prayer of General Confession, Nos. 3231 and 3233; No. 1967, a version of a prayer by St. Thomas; No. 2549, a version of the seven O's with the Latin original at the side; Nos. 1060 and 1057, both in the Vernon MS translations of Psalters of the B.V.M. by Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas, respectively; No. 3826, from Philip de Greve; Nos. 3211 and 1697 are versions of sequences; No. 2789 translates an antiphon. English prose translations are found in Harley 2339, fols. 2^a, 3^a, 5^b. No. 2483 is preceded by the original Latin and occurs in prose versions in manuscripts: Harley 1706, fol. 200^b; Harley 2398, fol. 186^a; Royal 8. C. 1. fol. 164^b; Bodl. 655; Bodl. 21896, fol. 97^a; Hunterian 520, item 8.

²³ Fol. 162^a:

In eleuacione eucariste

Wolcome lousrd; in likninge of bred
For me on rode; þat woldest bo deed
Of mine misdede; þow red me red
Schrift and husle; ar ih boe ded
Tipe me; for þi milsfulhed

In eleuacione corporis domini

Te veneranda caro cristī veneranter adoro
Corpus ave domini salue reparacio mundi
O panis viue presta mihi gaudia vite
Morbos auerte prestem preme crimina dele
Per te mundetur mens sensus purificetur

Dominus qui manus tuas propter nos in cruce posuisti et de tuo sacrosancto sanguine precioso nos redemisti, Mitte in me talem sensum et talem intellectum ut habeam veram confessionem bonam perseueranciam rectam fidem omnibus diebus vite mee quod mihi prestare digneris qui viuisti et regnis.

Fol. 162^b:

Sire deu omnipotent
Si come ioe crey verrement
Ke li prestere tent en present
Vostre seynt cors en sacrement
Isai verrement moy donez garison
Et deuant ma mort verreye confession
Amen

I have avoided duplicating the discussions in Sister Loretta McGarry, *The Holy Eucharist in Middle English verse* (Washington, 1936).

Le désir de voir l'Hostie fut, sans aucun doute, une grande dévotion médiévale; son apogée coïncide avec l'époque qu'on est convenu d'appeler la fin du moyen âge. ... Au xv^e siècle la dévotion envers l'Hostie, élevée et montrée pendant la messe, tient une telle place dans la vie religieuse.²⁴

The fifteen texts listed here are undoubtedly but a small proportion of those composed. Prayer books were made for frequent use and through constant employment would become damaged and eventually have to be discarded. One text (No. XI) printed here shows the process of decomposition at work, for the manuscript is partly obliterated by damp.²⁵ On the other hand, manuscripts made for genteel purposes would have a long life. Trinity College, Cambridge, preserves a whole shelf of small thirteenth-century bibles, all in excellent condition!²⁶ Other prayer books which survived intact during the Middle Ages may have been destroyed at the time of the Reformation; prayers (especially those to St. Thomas of Canterbury) are frequently disfigured by later readers;²⁷ and it is not unlikely that a more exuberant reformer would destroy the entire manuscript. A third cause of the comparative paucity of these prayers may be ascribed to modern neglect. Although there are large numbers of small prayer books now in public libraries, it is remarkable that *Horae* are the only class of manuscripts which it is possible to acquire in the sale room. These manuscripts come from private houses where lack of interest can speedily cause unknown dispersal and remove all traces of existence.

An interesting problem, and one not restricted to verse prayers for the Mass, concerns the manner of the circulation of prayers. The parish priests (and earlier, the friars) were the obvious sources for such diffusion as part of the general religious education. Accordingly, both the formal prayers and the simple "popular" prayers were spread

²⁴ E. Dumoutet, *Le Desir de voir l'Hostie et les origines de la dévotion au Saint-Sacrament* (Paris: Université de Strasbourg, 1926), pp. 34, 101.

²⁵ The Capesthorpe MS is eaten by rats!

²⁶ Compare the three small thirteenth-century bibles (5½" × 4½") in Edinburgh University Library, manuscripts 4, 5, and 6.

²⁷ Quite frequently remarks made in sixteenth-century hands are a source of unconscious humor. "Lucidarie" in St. John's Coll. Camb. 193, fol. 15^b, has a passage: "Crist . . . maketh a crye eche day. . . . Aske and ȝe schal resseuthe, sekith and ȝe schal fynde, rynges at the ȝate and it schal be opened to ȝow which ȝate in myn vnderstanding is oure lady Goddis Moder." The later hand comments: "But contrary to this man's understanding, above said, Christ sayeth: I am that dore by mee yf any man enter in, he shalbe saved, and shall go in, that ys, shall lyve savelly, and goe owte and finde Pasture."

mainly from the church. The variants of the leuation prayers which exist in several manuscripts point to an oral diffusion by the clergy; and, remembering the directions in the *Lay folks Mass book*, this is what we should expect. The parish priest is told in the *Pars oculi* to teach his parishioners when they come to confession a prayer of eight lines to the Guardian Angel.²⁸ Probably the little unpublished quatrain in a Latin manuscript in Durham Cathedral served just such a purpose:

Myn angel that art to me y-send,
Fro God to be my governour,
Fro all yvyl thu me defende
In every dyssease be my succour.²⁹

Thomas Ady in 1661 tells of a priest teaching a child a short prayer for use at bedtime:

An old woman in Essex who was living in my time, she had lived also in Queen Maries time, had learned thence many Popish charms, one whereof was this: every night when she lay down to sleep she charmed her bed, saying.

Matthew, Mark, Luke and John,
The bed be blest that I lye on.

and this would she repeat three times, reposing great confidence therein, because (as she said) she had been taught it, when she was a young maide, by the Church-men of those times.³⁰

I believe that this represents an earlier tradition, for the charm itself, the "White Pater noster," dates in this form from the fourteenth century. Sermons would be another occasion opportune for teaching prayers. Mirk introduces the orison to the Virgin: 'pen schall 3e say wyth mynd and deuocyon—"Be glad and blype qwene of blys. . . ."' ³¹ In my article on "Popular prayers," I have given many examples of short prayers from the notes or collections of sermons.³²

The popular "folk" prayers or charms of the "White Pater noster" type form a third group, distinct from private and popular prayers learned from the priests. Because of their popular origin, few of these

²⁸ Quoted by F. A. Gasquet, *The Old English Bible and other essays* (London, 1897), p. 196, n. 1.

²⁹ Durham Cath. A. iv. 25, fol. 9^b; sole English in the manuscript. This is also the last stanza of *Index*, No. 1720. I am indebted to Mr. Ernest A. Knight, the assistant librarian, who transcribed this text for me.

³⁰ Thomas Ady, *A perfect discovery of witches* (London, 1661), pp. 58-59.

³¹ Erbe, *EETS* (Extra ser.), XCVI, 232.

³² See n. 11, pp. 344-46.

folk prayers remain; yet there is sufficient indirect evidence to show that they were taught by parents or guardians. Dr. Coulton cites a pertinent illustration in his discussion of "Religious education among the better-class poor":

Next, take Joan of Arc's as the normal religious education of a peasant-girl, during the later Middle Ages: She said: "I learned my Pater and Ave and Creed from my mother; nor did I learn my belief from any other than my mother. . . . I confessed once a year to my own parson . . . and I used to take the Sacrament of Eucharist on Easter Day."³³

Evidence for England in particular is given by the Thoresby version of the *Lay folks catechism*, where there is an injunction to the parish priest to see that parents teach their children "this ilke sex thinges . . . the lawe and the lore to knawe God all-mighten":

And oft sithes reherce tham til that thai kun thaim,
And sithen teche tham thair childir, if thai any haue,
What tyme so thai er of eld to lere tham.³⁴

As well as by the father and mother the child might have been taught common and rudimentary prayers by his godparents. A baptismal font at Bradley (Lincolnshire, England) is inscribed:

Paternoster, Ave Maria, Criede,
Leren ye childe yt is nede.³⁵

This injunction to the sponsors appears again in a *Manuale* from Winchester and links together parents and godparents.³⁶

Levation prayers (like all vernacular prayers) started as pious concessions to a natural instinct but rapidly became an important and formative factor in preparing the way for church services in the language of the people. The growth of the vernacular was much more than a linguistic development; it symbolized the decline of the old feudal church and the rise in its place of a system with one *Book of*

³³ G. G. Coulton, *The medieval village* (Cambridge, 1925), p. 262. John Aubrey also alludes to mothers teaching their daughters, *Remaines of Gentilisme and Judaisme, 1686-7*, ed. James Britten, IV (London: Folklore Society, 1881), 68. W. J. Thoms, in *Anecdotes and traditions*, "Camden Soc.," V, 68, says this view is "stated rather too strongly."

³⁴ Nolloth, *EETS*, CXVIII, 22.

³⁵ E. Tyrrell-Green, *Baptismal fonts* (London, 1928), p. 164.

³⁶ Royal 2. A. xxi, fol. 15^a; quoted in Maskell, *Monumenta ritualia*, I, 28: "I commaunde ow god-fadre and god-modre, on holy chirche bihalve, that ye chargen the fadur and the modur of this child . . . that ye or they techen his ryȝte bleue, hure pater noster, and hure Ave Maria and hure Credo, or do him to beo tauȝte."

Common Prayer, the same for priest and layman, lord and peasant. With the broadening of the liturgy came a broadening in the basis of church government. But religious writers of the fifteenth century could only conceive of a rigid caste system with its consequent philosophy of economy. It was good that the literate (the upper social classes) have extra-liturgical prayers for their own use; it was equally good that the mass of the people progress no further in devotional knowledge than the essentials of faith, which all men were supposed to know. Hilton distinguishes these two classes in his *Scale of perfection* thus:

The most special prayer that the soul useth and hath most comfort in I trow is the Pater noster, or else Psalms of the Psalter; and the Pater noster for lewd men, and psalms and hymns and other service of Holy Kirk for lettered men.³⁷

That a line of demarcation was currently accepted is stated in a sermon in BM MS Additional 41321:

ffor manie of hem seyn that it is not lefful lewde men to knawe the blesside lawe of the gospel of oure lord jhesu crist, but oneli prestes and clerkes. But it sufficeth to hem to kunne her pater noster and to beleewe wel.³⁸

Private prayers, including the levation poems, being for "lettered men," were encouraged; and it is significant to compare the manner of their recording and preservation with that of the simple prayer-tags (not to be confused with the folk charms) which would be said by the humble in passing a crucifix or during a service of which he could comprehend only the barest outlines. The private prayers, almost without exception, appear in special collections of devotions either designed for Latin and English matter or else carefully added to Latin books, such as *Horae*; in any case the intention of permanent preservation was present. On the other hand, the popular prayers are scribbled in many unimportant places, especially on flyleaves and as an afterthought to the main contents, not by clergy or professional scribes, but by laymen who had heard of the prayer and wished to have it by them in some convenient form.

The introduction in the first half of the sixteenth century of a liturgy in English available to all men was not a sudden and complete break

³⁷ Ed. Underhill (London, 1923), p. 435.

³⁸ G. R. Owst, *Literature and pulpit* (Cambridge, 1933), p. 190, n. 4.

with the past. The separatism between the official religion of the church and the religious life of the people, implicit in the nonvernacular liturgy and heightened by the illiteracy of the vast majority of the people,³⁹ could only result in some change. In an attempt to stave off this change, the church sanctioned in limited instances the use of English, which, however, continued to be used increasingly throughout the fifteenth century. There is a mass of evidence that vernacular prayers were in general use by the end of the fifteenth century: I have found between one hundred and fifty and two hundred texts in verse alone. English was used in the bidding prayers at Prone, introductory to the Mass; in the marriage responses and (in emergency) in baptism, both sacramental services; and in confession in extreme unction. There were translations of psalms for royal use in the royal chapels. Musical piety is a product of the Reformation; but, as in Germany,⁴⁰ religious songs (probably carols) were sung at sermons and processions. English primers were established during the fifteenth century⁴¹ and in some cases were ordered to be left in the church.⁴² There is finally the eye-witness account by the Venetian ambassador to London in 1496 that devout people were attending simple vernacular services in the church:⁴³

They all attend Mass every day and say many Pater noster in public, the women carrying long rosaries in their hands, and any who can read taking the Office of Our Lady with them, and with some companion reciting it in the church in a low voice, verse by verse after the manner of churchmen.

³⁹ See "The extent of literacy in England" by J. W. Adamson in *Library*, X, 163-93. On p. 167 he assumes that at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries about 38 per cent could read. I think this figure too high, for it depends on statistics from only two large and prosperous cities. More pointedly Adamson suggests that the withdrawal of the benefit of clergy was due to too many people being acquitted at trials because they were able to read. Adamson (p. 167) gives this date as 1489. Berdan (*Early Tudor poetry*, p. 187) says 1513, and Thoms ("Camden Soc.," V, 1) gives 1827. For a discussion of the whole problem see Holdsworth's *History of English law*, III, 2, 94-301.

⁴⁰ See *MLN*, XXV, 105; also Owst, p. 484.

⁴¹ See Edwyn Birchenough, "The parallel translation of the Sarum Prymer," *Bodleian quarterly record*, VII, 457: "Vernacular translations of the Book of Hours . . . are extremely rare before the Reformation. Only 14 MS copies of the Sarum Prymer in English are known to exist, and all show the influence of the Lollard movement." The facts are correct, but I doubt the value of any implications drawn.

⁴² See Margaret Deansely in *MLR*, XV, 347, for John Lacy at Newcastle in 1434.

⁴³ *The Italian relation of England* ("Camden Soc.,") p. 23. I have corrected the error in the English translation. The point is that the women recite their office just as the priests do, verse by verse; but instead of speaking aloud, they speak in a low voice.

An earlier account of this habit is given in an unpublished poem in the Capesthorpe MS, where two ladies are described coming into church:

Euen behynd the kirk dore
Thay kneled bothe on the flore,
And fast thay did piter pater—
I hope thay said matens togeder.⁴⁴

Latin was definitely on the decline!

The value of these levation poems as literature need not be stressed: they show a happy choice of words and an understanding of the prayer as a literary form. But still to be accepted is their value in the history of thought, their value for the history of the *ecclesia anglicana*, and finally their value in emphasizing the fact that literature cannot be divorced from life and from the problems of living.

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⁴⁴ Capesthorpe MS, fol. 94^a, No. 14, vss. 13–16. My edition of the poems of Humfrey Newton (from the Capesthorpe MS) will appear shortly.

JAMES SHIRLEY AND THE ACTORS AT THE FIRST IRISH THEATER

ALLAN H. STEVENSON

WHEN the Werburgh Street Theater, the first Dublin playhouse, opened its doors in 1637,¹ it was suitably furnished with a master of the revels in John Ogilby,² a dramatist in James Shirley, presumably a number of plays, including Shirley's new comedy *The royall master*³—and, naturally, actors more or less capable of interpreting these plays. However, no contemporary records of this company of actors are now known to exist; only one or two actors' names have ever been connected with the Werburgh Street Theater, and these names have seemed of little consequence. The history of this theater is made up more of conjecture than of fact; nevertheless, I believe that through a careful comparison of what we know of dramatic matters in Dublin and London in 1637 we can discover a satisfactory explanation of the origin and makeup of the Dublin company of players.

Thomas Wentworth (later the earl of Strafford) must have been a prime mover in the genesis of the first Dublin theater. It is certain that he showed an interest in plays and players only a few months after taking up his duties as lord deputy of Ireland in July, 1633. For during the New Year holidays of his first year he was able to entertain guests at the Castle with a play. Under date of January 2, 1633/4, Richard Boyle, the earl of Cork, records in his diary:

I was invited by the Lo. deputy, and bothe dyned & supped with the Lo. deputy: saw a play acted by his lo^{ps} gentle[men]; and loste vj^{li} to the L. deputy at quairter lo dicen [?], & the L. chancellor loste other v^{li} also to his lo^p.⁴

¹ La Tourette Stockwell, *Dublin theatres and theatre customs* (Kingsport, Tenn., 1938), p. 2. My own investigation points to a time near Michaelmas, 1637.

² *Ibid.*

³ Cf. Arthur H. Nason, *James Shirley, dramatist* (New York, 1915), p. 111. Very likely the new theater was opened with this play, judging by the splendor of its commendatory verses.

⁴ *The Lismore papers*, ed. A. B. Grosart (1st ser.; London, 1886), IV, 6.

Unfortunately, the Earl does not name the play or clearly name the players. The phrase "his lo^{ps} gentle" hardly suggests a professional troupe.⁵ More probably they were a small private company that Wentworth had brought, at least in part, from England, or merely a group of amateur performers drawn from the gentlemen about the court or from the members of the Lord Deputy's household. Aubrey offers the curious possibility that they were drawn from Wentworth's troupe of guards. He says that John Ogilby "went into Ireland with the lord Strafford (Deputy) and rode in his troupe of guards, as one of my lord's gentlemen."⁶ We can hardly doubt, in any case, that Ogilby, who taught Wentworth's wife and children dancing⁷ and was later appointed Master of the Revels, took some part in this dramatic entertainment.

Whether or not Wentworth maintained a company of players over a period of years the evidence does not show. It would have suited his ideas of vice-regal splendor. We do know that, two years later, again in a holiday season, on January 6, 1635/6, he was able to offer the earl of Cork another evening of gaming and play-viewing:

The L. deputy invited me and my ffamuly to dynner, where my self, Don-garvan, & the L. digby onely cam, and dyned, The L. deputy & I loste at mawe vj peeces each of vs, to the L. chancellor, & the L. Moor, we saw a tragedie in the parliament hous, & which was tragicall, for we had no suppers.⁸

This entry probably names the customary place of performance—a parliamentary chamber in the Castle—and it gives the type of play, but it does not mention the actors. One surmises, however, that they were again "his lordships gentle."

About this time there were in Dublin actors who appear to have given more ordinary entertainment, and likewise some offense to good citizens. In 1636 the Irish parliament passed an act which denounced "common players of enterludes" as rogues and vagabonds and classed them with jugglers and other low entertainers.⁹ Obviously, this act did not refer to the kind of actors that appeared at Wentworth's court.

⁵ G. E. Bentley concurs in this opinion.

⁶ John Aubrey, *Brief lives*, ed. Andrew Clark (Oxford, 1898), II, 101.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Lisamore papers* (1st ser.), IV, 146-47.

⁹ J. T. Gilbert, *A history of the city of Dublin* (Dublin, 1854-59), I, 38.

There were, then, two sorts of actors in Dublin at a time just previous to the opening of the theater. Yet neither sort would have made a company satisfactory for day-by-day performances at a public theater before the transplanted, and no doubt critical, Englishmen then living in Dublin. It is possible, of course, that the theater company owed something to the Lord Deputy's men. But the Londoners of Dublin would prefer to import not only a dramatist and plays but some good professional actors from London.

This is, indeed, what was done, as we learn from an interesting document to which Miss Stockwell calls attention. About 1661 John Ogilby in a petition to Charles II stated that during his first employment as master of the revels in Ireland he had made "great preparations and disbursements in building a new Theatre stocking and bringing over a Company of Actors and Musicians and setting them in Dublin."¹⁰

What was this company of actors and when did it arrive in Dublin? Apparently little or no direct evidence is now available. Yet among the events of 1637 are hitherto unrelated occurrences which, I am confident, explain two mysteries at once. Indeed, here is that type of resolution wherein the student, after racking his brains over a pair of problems, suddenly perceives that the one problem may be the answer to the other. The second of my two problems was: What happened to certain leading actors of the company when Queen Henrietta's men broke in 1636-37?

When the plague forced the theaters to close in May, 1636, we have reason to think that the following men were members of the company at the Phoenix: William Allen, Michael Bowyer, Hugh Clark, William Robins, Richard Perkins, William Sherlock, John Sumner, Anthony Turner, Ezekiel Fenn, Theophilus Bird, Robert Axen, John Page, George Stutville. All these except Robins had appeared in 1635 in the cast of Nabbes's *Hannibal and Scipio*, and "Robinson" is mentioned by Crosfield as a Queen's man in July, 1634.¹¹ Richard Heton, manager of the Salisbury Court Theater, asserted in 1639 that "When her M^{ts} servants were at the Cockpitt, beinge all at liberty, they disperst

¹⁰ Stockwell, p. 3; also *C.S.P., Ireland, 1669-1670, with addenda, 1625-1670*, pp. 416-17.

¹¹ G. E. Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline stage* (Oxford, 1941), pp. 246, 231.

themselves to severall Companies. . . .¹² They appear, indeed, to have divided into three groups of four or five actors each. (1) Some of the younger players remained with the Beestons upon the formation of the company of boys. Fenn certainly did. Bird was a member of the young company, at least until May, 1637. And three others—Axen, Page, and Stutville—were members in 1639–40, the last apparently as a manager.¹³ (2) It is well known that Sir Henry Herbert “disposed” of four men—Perkins, Sherlock, Sumner, and Turner—to the Salisbury Court Theater at the time of the formation of the new Queen’s men in 1637.¹⁴

That leaves (3) Allen, Bowyer, Clark, and Robins. They were all able actors who had (we can feel sure) been appearing in Shirley’s plays for some ten years.¹⁵ Allen was one of the more clever character actors of his time, judging by his known roles for Henrietta’s men; Bowyer had played leading male roles for at least a decade; Clark had graduated to adult roles and was accounted a leading member of his company; and Robins was a comedian of considerable fame.¹⁶ Yet we know nothing for certain about any of these four between 1635 and 1641. Though Bentley has collected some useful information concerning them from London parish registers, one finds in it no definite evidence as to their whereabouts during these particular years. And not much can be made of the queer statement of Theophilus Bird, in 1655, that he was a King’s man in 1635 and implying that Bowyer was also.¹⁷ The statement would seem to be misdated, for Bird had played in *Hannibal and Scipio* for Henrietta’s men in 1635, and he was a member of Beeston’s young company in May, 1637.¹⁸ I suspect that Bird may have meant 1639 or 1639/40, a date not too long before he was sworn a member of the King’s men.¹⁹

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 684.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 238–39, and the biographical notes in Vol. II; also T. W. Baldwin, *The organization and personnel of the Shakespearean company* (Princeton, 1927), p. 63.

¹⁴ J. Q. Adams (ed.), *The dramatic records of Sir Henry Herbert* (New Haven, 1917), p. 66.

¹⁵ They are listed in the cast of *The wedding* (acted 1626) as printed in the quarto of 1629.

¹⁶ See the articles on these players in Bentley, Vol. II, or in Edwin Nungezer, *A dictionary of actors* (New Haven, 1929).

¹⁷ For the document see Leslie Hotson, *The Commonwealth and Restoration stage* (Cambridge, Mass., 1929), pp. 31–34; for discussion see Baldwin, p. 64, and Bentley, pp. 57, 386–87.

¹⁸ Bentley, pp. 246, 336.

¹⁹ See below, pp. 158–59.

The usual explanation of the nonappearance of a group of actors in London is found in a sequence of recorded appearances in provincial towns. But there is only one recorded instance of "Queen's Men" acting in the provinces about the time of the plague of 1636-37;²⁰ and this occurred no later than November, 1636, and probably before the disintegration of the Phoenix company.

It will be recalled that Heton distinctly says that Henrietta's men "disperst themselves to severall companies," that is, they became members of other existent companies or companies in process of formation. If these were all London companies, we should expect to find references to actors as well known as Allen, Bowyer, Clark, and Robins (or some of them) during the after-plague years of 1637-40. That Herbert makes no reference to them is perhaps odd but probably signifies that they had already (by September, 1637) satisfactorily disposed of themselves in a way that the Perkins group had not. The usually accepted opinion is that the Allen group became King's men in 1637, some three or four years before they were sworn members of that company.²¹ It may be so. But the lack of definite personal information, together with the fact that in 1637 these members of Shirley's old company were seeking new employment, suggests a more promising theory: Some of Queen Henrietta's men, probably Allen, Bowyer, Clark, and Robins, left England and became members of the company that Ogilby and Shirley were gathering for the Dublin theater.

The year would have to be 1637 and the month March or a little later, for the following reasons. (1) According to Ogilby's petition of about 1661, the Werburgh Street Theater must have been built after February, 1636/7²² and so was not ready for performances before, say, the fall of the year. (2) We are reasonably certain that Shirley left Ireland for a time in the spring of 1637 to attend to his "Affaires in England," as he promises us in the dedication to *The royall master*.²³ And what affairs could have been more important than selecting a company

²⁰ Once at Coventry between December 2, 1635, and November 20, 1636 (J. T. Murray, *English dramatic companies* [London, 1910], II, 252; Bentley, p. 248).

²¹ Cf. Baldwin, p. 64; Bentley, pp. 56-57.

²² Stockwell, p. 2.

²³ Nason is overly cautious on this point (pp. 109-15). Later I expect to show that Shirley probably visited London in the spring of 1638, as well as that of 1637.

to play at the new theater in Dublin?²⁴ John Ogilby may have accompanied him, for we recall that Ogilby later asserted that *he* had made "great . . . disbursements in . . . bringing over a Company of Actors and Musicians."²⁵ Or, as that statement is ambiguous, we may picture Shirley alone attending to the business in London while Ogilby remained in Dublin to oversee the building of the theater. In either event Shirley must have left for England near the time that Ogilby was made master of the revels for Ireland, February 28, 1636/7.²⁶ And the later limit for Shirley's reappearance in London is probably April 13, 1637, when plays by Shirley were first entered to Andrew Crooke and William Cooke, rather than, as formerly, to William Cooke alone—for this entry is evidence that a partnership had been formed for the marketing of Shirley's plays while the dramatist should reside in Dublin.²⁷ (3) At this time the older members of the Queen's company suffered a triple disappointment: first, the formation of Beeston's boy company in February, 1636/7,²⁸ leaving them out of employment; second, the consequent loss of the Phoenix Theater for their performances; and, third, the failure of the theaters to remain open more than a week at the end of February.²⁹ At this juncture a number of actors might need little inducement to try their fortunes in Ireland; and it may well be that some important members of the Queen's company went. I am supposing that Herbert sent the Perkins group to Salisbury Court *after* they had failed to be selected for the Dublin troupe or had refused to go to Ireland; for Heton's and Herbert's statements give the impression that the new Queen's company was formed not too long before Michaelmas, 1637;³⁰ but the point is not here material.

Allen, Bowyer, Clark, and Robins would have made an excellent nucleus for a Werburgh Street company. Allen could handle a variety

²⁴ Not that this was his only business. Besides making the publication agreement mentioned below, Shirley may also have arranged at this time to carry his family over to Ireland; but that they went we do not know.

²⁵ It is interesting to compare Ogilby's aggressive method of securing actors for the Smock Alley Theater after the Restoration (see Stockwell, p. 31).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

²⁷ See my forthcoming paper on "Shirley's publishers: the partnership of Crooke and Cooke."

²⁸ Bentley, pp. 324-26.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 622.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 237-38.

of difficult roles, and Bowyer must have been one of the most consistently effective leading men of his time. Clark, a former player of feminine leads, would be useful in training boys. And Robins, a famous funnyman, would be a drawing card in any troupe. At the Phoenix he had played such comic parts as Carazie in *The renegado*, Rawbone in *The wedding*, Clem in *The fair maid of the West*, and the Changeling in the play of that name;³¹ wherefore in Dublin he would be a proper choice for Bombo in *The royall master*, Rodamant in *St. Patrick for Ireland*, Pickadill in *No wit no help like a womans*, and perhaps the Captain in *Rosania*. Later evidence may show that one or another of these four did not go to Dublin; but some such experienced men Shirley and Ogilby would have to have to build a company around.

And no doubt Shirley would prefer as far as possible to make up a troupe from his old associates at the Phoenix. Yet, in this time of reforming and realignment of companies and of poverty induced by the plague, players must have been available from other companies likewise. However well the King's men, under special royal favor, may have weathered the doldrums, these were very bad times for the actors of the Red Bull and Salisbury Court. And then, when Perkins and his three fellows went to Salisbury Court, no doubt some lesser members of the King's Revels company were dismissed. Perhaps there is this significance in Herbert's statement that he had joined the Perkins foursome to the *best* of the Salisbury Court men.

Curiously, we have some definite, though contradictory, information on one or two minor actors who (apparently) belonged to the Dublin company. In his account of the Werburgh Street Theater the historian Gilbert mentions a "Thomas Cooke, player" as a resident of the Wood Quay, his name appearing in a parochial assessment of 1638.³² Writing fifty years later, Hughes, the last rector of the Church of St. John and then rector of the combined parishes of St. Werburgh, St. John, and St. Bridget, remarks that "William Cooke, a player, was rated in the parish of S. John."³³ Whether there were two Cookes or one could be determined only through a re-examination of the parish

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 246, 401, 548.

³² Gilbert, I, 39. The Wood Quay was in the parish of St. John.

³³ S. C. Hughes, *The pre-Victorian drama in Dublin* (Dublin, 1904), p. 2.

cesses (at present probably not available);³⁴ but I suspect that Hughes was making a silent correction of Gilbert; for his several small histories of Dublin theaters and churches show that he kept Gilbert's *History* close at hand, and his long study of the records of his parishes should have put him in possession of the facts. It will be noted that he does not give the year of the assessment in which he found the name of William Cooke; but perhaps this means he found the name in several cesses.

Some corroboration we may have in the fact that there was a London actor called William Cooke. We know rather little about him, and it is difficult to disentangle him from other William Cookes; but he was certainly a member of Prince Charles's company from 1632 to 1635, in which year he was one of four who were sworn "Groomes of the Chamber . . . to attend the Prince his Highnes in y^e Quality of Players."³⁵ Perhaps Shirley found him in 1637 suffering from the inaction at the Red Bull and hired him for his Dublin company. Although the name William Cooke was a fairly common one,³⁶ the chances are against there being two actors of this name. For the same reason the "William Cook" who was among the English players at The Hague in 1644-45 may likewise be the same man.³⁷

Hughes gives a second clue to the makeup of the Dublin company. He states: "The theatre was rated in 1641 under the name of a Mr. Perry."³⁸ I suppose this refers to a parochial rating, similar to that of William Cooke. In fact, it greatly resembles a rating of the year 1687, which reads: "The Cess for the Poore of St. John's Parrish . . . att

³⁴ Three specimen cesses—those for 1621, 1646, and 1687—are printed in *The registers of St. John the Evangelist, Dublin, 1619-1699* (Dublin, 1906), Appen. II. The editor mentions unprinted ones for 1636, 1638, 1640, and other years (p. vi).

³⁵ Bentley, pp. 311, 413.

³⁶ For instance, Shirley's favorite publisher was a William Cooke.

³⁷ Bentley supposes the London Cooke and The Hague Cook the same man (p. 413). The printed *Registers of St. John the Evangelist* record the burials of no less than four William Cookes from that church between June, 1640, and February, 1643/4. One, however, was "William son to William Cooke" (p. 51), and another, buried in 1642 (p. 48). Hughes identifies as a goldsmith, in his *The Church of St. John* (Dublin, 1889), p. 104. This leaves William Cookes who were buried on June 25, 1640, and February 16, 1643/4 (pp. 37, 91). The former falls within the period of activity of the Werburgh Street Theater, but, of course, neither can be the actor if he performed later at The Hague. Other entries of 1639 and 1640 show baptisms and burials of two children of "William Cooke" (pp. 32, 37, 39). Finally, "Marie daughter to Thomas Cooke" was buried from St. John's Church on June 12, 1643 (p. 52).

³⁸ *Pre-Victorian drama*, p. 2. This sentence immediately precedes the one about William Cooke.

Easter 1687. . . . Blind Key Ward. . . . Mr. Richards for the Playhouse. . 4s. 6d."³⁹ This entry apparently means that the old actor, John Richards, as leader of the company, was assessed the indicated sum for the actors at the Smock Alley Theater. Who, then, was "Mr. Perry"? I imagine he was that William Perry who had long led a company of players through the English provinces and probably was connected with the Red Bull and Fortune theaters in London.⁴⁰ Nothing has been known of him between May 11, 1636, when he was with "his Ma^{ties} players" at Norwich, and some time in 1642, when "Mr. Pierry & his company" were at Coventry.⁴¹ He would seem to have been an ideal choice for company manager of a troupe of actors who had to be transported out of England into Ireland. With so experienced a leader in control, Shirley, after making preliminary arrangements for his company in the spring of 1637, might return to Ireland to help with the organization of the theater, leaving Perry to follow with the others when the theater was ready for them. And, as their business manager, Perry would be the proper man to take care of a parish assessment on the actors in his company.⁴² Admittedly, a mere surname is insufficient evidence of a man's identity; at the same time, it should be noted, this "Mr. Perry" can hardly have been the *owner* of the theater, for John Ogilby's "owne greate coste and charges" apparently included the building.⁴³

The troupe of actors who went to Dublin were presumably more than five or six. If our identifications of Cooke and Perry prove right, we may find that other men from the Red Bull and the Fortune accompanied them; yet we know too little about the actors at these theaters to hazard useful guesses concerning their movements. However, there is a fair possibility that the young actor Thomas Jordan was acquired from Salisbury Court. Several facts fit this conjecture. (1) We are un-

³⁹ *Registers of St. John*, pp. 277-78. The rating of Joseph Ashbury occurs just above that of Richards.

⁴⁰ For his career with the Red Bull-King's company see Bentley, pp. 271-76, 280 n., 529-31.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 531.

⁴² The Werburgh Street Theater, unlike Smock Alley, was, of course, in the parish of St. Werburgh. Just what, then, was the source of Hughes's statement about Perry I do not know, for, unfortunately, the seventeenth-century records of St. Werburgh's Church were lost in a fire. If the early registers of this church were now extant, no doubt they would offer some information about the actors.

⁴³ Cf. Stockwell, pp. 2-3.

certain of Jordan's company affiliation after the closing of the theaters in 1636.⁴⁴ (2) On December 28, 1637, "Thomas Jordan son to Thomas Jorda:" was christened at St. John's, Dublin.⁴⁵ This would be perhaps several months after the actors had come to Dublin; and Jordan is a rare name in Dublin registers. (3) Certain commendatory verses among those prefixed to *The royall master* (1638) are modestly signed "T. I." (as would befit a young player-poet writing in the company of Richard Belling and John Ogilby). These begin:

I Like some petty Brooke scarce worth a name,
Must yet pay tribute to thy full-stream'd fame . . .

—a not uncommon conceit, indeed, but one similar to a number which Jordan made in his published verses in allusion to his name. For instance, his elegy on the actor-manager Richard Gunnell (published in his *Poeticall varieties* [London, 1637]) ends thus:

It is for thee I *flow*, for thee I *glide*,
I had retain'd my *floods* hadst thou not *dyed*.
And little water birds shall chaunt this *theame*,
Thy *Jordan* mourner is a *Jordan streame*.⁴⁶

A further clue is that Jordan frequently signed himself "T. J." in dedications and on title-pages.⁴⁷ (4) An apparent obstacle lies in Jordan's statement, of about 1655, that he had recited a poem before Charles I "at the Dedication of *Mr. Tho. Bushel's Rock* at E[n]ston in Oxon, 1638, in the person of *Caliope*."⁴⁸ Actually Thomas Bushell entertained royalty with a masque and a banquet and presented his famed rock to Queen Henrietta Maria on August 23, 1636, and himself published an account of the occasion in the same year.⁴⁹ These facts tell us too little; yet they make Jordan's presence in Ireland in 1637-40 more than a mere possibility.

Jordan in 1637 may still have been young enough to play women's

⁴⁴ Bentley, pp. 487-88.

⁴⁵ *Registers of St. John*, p. 29.

⁴⁶ Quoted in Bentley, p. 458. It is interesting, too, to find a chorus of watery allusions to Jordan's name in the commendatory verses preceding *Poeticall varieties*.

⁴⁷ E.g., on the title-pages of *A medicine for the times* (1641), *Pictures of passions, fancies, and affections* (1641), *A diurnall of dangers* (1642), and the supposed autograph manuscript of "Divine poesie, or a poetick miscellanie of sacred fancies, writ by T. J., Gent."

⁴⁸ Bentley, p. 489; *DNB* gives the year as 1639.

⁴⁹ *The severall speeches and songs, at the presentment of Mr. Bushells rock to the Queents majesty* (Oxford, 1636); for a summary see J[ohn] W. Gough, *The superlative prodigall: a life of Thomas Bushell* (Bristol, 1932), pp. 27-29.

roles.⁵⁰ In any case the Dublin company must have included one or two experienced boys, as well as boys trained in Dublin. But here no boy's name seems worth mention except that of Stephen Hammerton, and he will be noticed presently.

Ogilby's assertion that he brought over musicians as well as actors does not help us in identifying either. The musicians may have come from the Phoenix and/or Salisbury Court. Ogilby no doubt knew the importance of injecting song and dance into plays presented before audiences of dubious enthusiasm.

Finally, there is the question of the actors' (and musicians') return to England. Some, of course, may have returned before others; but possibly a number left Ireland with Shirley in mid-April, 1640.⁵¹ William Allen is one who may have preceded him.⁵² For the 1640 quarto of *Loves crueltie* has a dedication signed "W. A." (rather than "James Shirley"); it is one of a group of five Shirley-Fletcher comedies printed by Thomas Cotes at this time, one being dated 1639 and the others 1640; and it apparently precedes *The opportunitie*, whose dedication shows that the author reached London during the printing of that play.⁵³ In any event, as an old and trusted member of the Queen's company at the Phoenix,⁵⁴ Allen might well attend to some business for Shirley in London.⁵⁵

Baldwin offers some evidence that Michael Bowyer was a King's man in 1639; but a careful interpretation of this evidence, dealing with

⁵⁰ If in 1637 he was "the Infant-Poet of our Age" (Bentley, p. 489), he must have been born nearer 1620 than "1612?"—the date usually given. He had played the part of "Lepida mother to Messalina" in Richards' *Messalina*, ca. 1634 (ibid., p. 488).

⁵¹ In a forthcoming paper on "Shirley's years in Ireland" I am able to show that Shirley crossed the Irish Sea with Captain Richard Owen in the "Ninth Whelp" and landed at Chester about April 17.

⁵² Crossing perhaps with Strafford and Captain Bartlett in the "Confidence" on April 3-4, 1640 (*Strafford's letters and dispatches*, ed. William Knowler [London, 1739], II, 403-4).

⁵³ The five plays, including also Fletcher's *Wit without money* and *The night walker* and Shirley's *The coronation*, were entered for publication April 25, 1639. The quartos are linked by typographical features and watermarks.

⁵⁴ Bentley, p. 344.

⁵⁵ The initials "W. A." are the nearest thing to direct evidence that any of the Allen group acted in Ireland. Yet there is another, less likely, possibility: that they stand for Will Atkins, Shirley's friend and fellow-member of Gray's Inn who had written warm commendatory verses for *The traylor* in 1635 (cf. *The register of admissions to Gray's Inn*, ed. Joseph Foster [London, 1889], pp. 192, 202). The actor Will Allen would seem the better man for handling dramatic affairs.

a dedication and a title-page, suggests late 1639 or 1639/40.⁵⁶ Davenport's *A crowne for a conquerour*, entered June 28, 1639, may not have left the press before January or even March, 1639/40; and its dedication to Michael Bowyer and Richard Robinson need not have been written any earlier. To be sure, a dedication does not prove a man was in England, especially if he were shortly expected home; but we must reckon with the probability that Bowyer, if he had acted in Ireland, had returned to England by March, 1639/40.

The Irish parliament which granted Strafford four subsidies opened on March 16. Thus, during Shirley's last month in Dublin, "with the town full," plays must have been in demand, and actors were needed. However, the parliament was prorogued early in April,⁵⁷ and at this time Shirley (and some actors) must have decided to return to England. Other actors probably remained, however, for the parliament met again in June, October, and January;⁵⁸ and we know that the little theater in Werburgh Street carried on until the Irish rebellion closed its doors in October, 1641.⁵⁹

In the meantime we find definite mention of what I have called the "Allen group" of actors in London for the first time since 1635. On January 22, 1640/1, six players were sworn grooms of His Majesty's chamber "and to bee of the Company of his Ma^{ty}s servants at y^e Black-fryers": Bowyer, Robins, Allen, Clark, Bird, and Hammerton.⁶⁰ This need not mean that the six men had joined the company recently; nor should it mean that they had been members for a matter of years. There may or may not be significance in the makeup of the list; but we are struck by the fact that the Allen group appear four-in-a-row, and we are led to consider whether the other two may have been associated with them in Ireland.

Theophilus Bird seems unlikely to have been an original member of the Dublin company, for he was Beeston's son-in-law and as such was mentioned in Beeston's will in October, 1638. Further, he wrote a prologue for Ford's *The lady's trial*, licensed for the Cockpit in May,

⁵⁶ Cf. Baldwin, p. 64.

⁵⁷ [H. R. Morres], Lord Mountmorres, *The history of the principal transactions of the Irish parliament, from the year 1634 to 1666* (London, 1792), I, 334-35.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 19, 29, 38, 40.

⁵⁹ W. R. Chetwood, *A general history of the stage* (Dublin, 1749), p. 52.

⁶⁰ *Malone society collections*, II (Oxford, 1931), 397.

1638, and published in 1639; and on October 27, 1638, a son of his was buried.⁶¹ Wherefore, if he was ever a member of the Dublin company, it must have been in 1639-40. Having grown too old for Beeston's Boys, he may have found this way into the King's company.

Stephen Hammerton as a boy had been appropriated from Salisbury Court by the King's men in 1632; and we do not know whether Herbert returned him to Salisbury Court or not.⁶² In either case the plague years of 1636-37 may have loosened the strings of his apprenticeship so that he might act in Dublin. It may be significant that Hammerton, after some years in which his light is hid, seems to have become "the matinee idol of Blackfriars" (Bentley) about the latter half of 1640—that is, after the return of Shirley and presumably his group of actors from Dublin.⁶³ But we need better evidence than this apparent coincidence.

In this paper the Dublin company of players has been given no proper name, for our seventeenth-century evidence does not show how they were styled. Harbage has recently called them "Ogilby's Men,"⁶⁴ which is a convenient term but not one with official flavor. It is therefore worth noting that W. R. Chetwood, the "first historian of the Irish theater," supplied a name that is suggestive, if not authentic. On the title-page of his edition of Shirley's *St. Patrick for Ireland*⁶⁵ appears the statement that the play was "First Acted By His Majesty's Company of Comedians in the Year 1639." It would, of course, be proper for the sole Dublin company to be known as the King's men, though it had been brought together by the Lord Deputy's favor.⁶⁶ And it may even transpire that the Werburgh players looked to the King's men of the Blackfriars as some sort of parent-company. This is perhaps an unnecessary hypothesis, but it could be the reason that

⁶¹ Bentley, p. 378.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36, 460.

⁶³ The epilogue to Shirley's *The doubtful heir* (published 1652) apparently refers to Hammerton as "King Stephen." The play had been written for the Dublin theater and was first performed in London at the Globe (see the London prologue) in June, 1640 (licensed as *Rosania*, June 1 [Adams, p. 39]). The epilogue to Suckling's *The goblins* (acted ca. 1640; protected for the King's men in August, 1641; printed 1646) also shows the interest of the audience in "Stephen" (see Bentley, pp. 460-61).

⁶⁴ Alfred Harbage, *Annals of English drama, 975-1700* (Philadelphia, 1940), pp. 111 ff.

⁶⁵ In *A select collection of old plays* (Dublin, 1750).

⁶⁶ Further, as has been noted, William Perry's provincial company had been known as "his Ma^{ties} players."

Bird thought of himself and Bowyer as King's men of about 1635 [1637 or 1639?], although they were not sworn members until 1640/1; it would make some boys—perhaps Hammerton—available to the Dublin company; and it would fully explain the reappearance of the Queen's former dramatist and a group of the Queen's former players as King's dramatist and King's men in 1640–41.

The writer has been painfully conscious of the paucity of the evidence with which he has had to work. It is one of the curiosities of literary history that there appear to be available today no fully contemporary references to the Werburgh Street Theater except those in the quartos of Shirley's *The royall master* (1638) and Burnell's *Landgartha* (1641) and those in the prologues written by Shirley for other plays "acted there." Surely, some student working in Dublin can yet throw epistolary or other documentary light on the playhouse and actors of 1637–41.

DE PAUL UNIVERSITY

A MODEST PROPOSAL AND POPULOUSNESS

LOUIS A. LANDA

IN 1724, five years before the publication of *A modest proposal*, Swift wrote a tract entitled *Maxims controlled in Ireland*, in which he examined "certain maxims of state, founded upon long observation and experience, drawn from the constant practice of the wisest nations, and from the very principles of government."¹ His purpose was to demonstrate that however much these maxims applied to other countries they had no application to Ireland. Among the maxims examined and confuted is one that was cherished by the mercantilist economic writers of the last half of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth centuries: that people are the riches of a nation. The passage in which this maxim is presented would seem to be the germ of *A modest proposal*:

It is another undisputed maxim in government, 'That people are the riches of a nation'; which is so universally granted, that it will be hardly pardonable to bring it in doubt. And I will grant it to be so far true, even in this island, that if we had the African custom, or privilege, of selling our useless bodies for slaves to foreigners, it would be the most useful branch of our trade, by ridding us of a most unsupportable burthen, and bringing us money in the stead. But, in our present situation, at least five children in six who are born, lie a dead weight upon us, for want of employment. And a very skilful computer assured me, that above one half of the souls in this kingdom supported themselves by begging and thievery; whereof two thirds would be able to get their bread in any other country upon earth. Trade is the only incitement to labour; where that fails the poor native must either beg, steal, or starve, or be forced to quit his country. This hath made me often wish, for some years past, that instead of discouraging our people from seeking foreign soil, the public would rather pay for transporting all our unnecessary mortals. . . .²

The parallelism in ideas between this passage and *A modest proposal* is striking. In each there is the complaint that the people, for want of employment, must turn to begging and thievery, that a portion of the population is a useless burden, and that under certain conditions these

¹ *The prose works of Jonathan Swift, D.D.*, ed. Temple Scott (London, 1897-1908), VII, 65. This edition will hereafter be referred to as *Works*.

² *Ibid.*, p. 70.

useless people could become a source of wealth to the nation. The ironic solution for Ireland's economic difficulties in each instance is the selling-off of human bodies, as slaves in the one case and as food in the other. In effect, Swift is maintaining that the maxim—people are the riches of a nation—applies to Ireland only if Ireland is permitted slavery or cannibalism. In both the *Maxims controlled in Ireland* and *A modest proposal* populousness is overtly and impliedly made a vicious economic condition for Ireland. The methods are, of course, different in the two, with *A modest proposal* gaining its effects through broad and sustained irony; but for fear that the reader may miss his telling point, that people are not the riches of Ireland whatever they may be in other countries, Swift inserts at the close of *A modest proposal* a more direct statement of his purpose:

I can think of no one objection, that will possibly be raised against this proposal, unless it should be urged that the number of people will be thereby much lessened in the kingdom. This I freely own, and was indeed one principal design in offering it to the world. I desire the reader will observe, that I calculate my remedy for *this one individual Kingdom of Ireland*, and for no other that ever was, is, or, I think, ever can be upon earth.³

The satirical point of *A modest proposal* would have been sharpened for Swift's contemporaries to the extent to which they believed the maxim it refuted. How much more damaging to England that her drastic policies had forced Ireland outside the pale in which universally valid economic laws could operate!

An examination of economic tracts in the second half of the seventeenth century reveals constant iteration of the principle that people are the riches of a nation. Sir William Petty, whose views on Ireland were widely quoted in Swift's day, wrote that "Fewness of people is real poverty; and a Nation wherein are Eight Millions of People, are more than twice as rich as the same scope of Land wherein are but Four."⁴ People, wrote William Petty, the supposed author of *Britannia languens* (1680), are "in truth the chiefest, most fundamental, and precious commodity."⁵ Sir Josiah Child, great merchant and expound-

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 214-15.

⁴ *A treatise of taxes and contributions*, in *The economic writings of Sir William Petty*, ed. Charles H. Hull (Cambridge, 1899), I, 34.

⁵ Reprinted in *A select collection of early English tracts on commerce*, ed. J. R. McCulloch (London, 1856), p. 458.

er of mercantilist ideas, maintained that "most Nations in the Civilized Parts of the World, are more or less Rich or Poor proportionably to the Paucity or Plenty of their People, and not to the Sterility or Fruitfulness of their Lands."⁶ These statements are frequently repeated in the early eighteenth century. In *New essays on trade* (1702), Sir Francis Brewster wrote: "Nothing makes Kingdoms and Commonwealths, Mighty, Opulent and Rich, but multitudes of People; 'tis Crowds bring in Industry."⁷ From Defoe came a similar expression: ". . . the glory, the strength, the riches, the trade, and all that is valuable in a nation as to its figure in the world, depends upon the number of its people, be they never so mean and poor. . . ."⁸ These are typical expressions and could be multiplied. In their context and with their supporting arguments, these expressions, it is true, are not tantamount to an unqualified assertion that people are the riches of a nation. People are conceived of as a source of riches; their labor is potential wealth but it must be utilized. As one writer expressed it, the people are "*capital material . . . raw and indigested.*"⁹

Yet often the maxim was stated without qualification or without any attempt to equate the number of people and the employment available to them, although there was likely to be an assumption that employment could be provided.¹⁰ The mercantilist wanted a large or dense population in order to keep wages low¹¹ and manufactures cheap, a condition by which a country gained an advantage in export trade, the great desideratum of the mercantilist. As William Petyt wrote: "The odds in *Populacy* must also produce the like odds in Manufacture

⁶ *A new discourse of trade* (London, 1698), p. 179.

⁷ P. 51.

⁸ *Giving alms no charity* (1704); reprinted in *A collection of pamphlets concerning the poor*, ed. Thomas Gilbert (London, 1787), p. 71.

⁹ William Petyt, *Britannia languens*, in *A select collection . . .*, ed. McCulloch, p. 458.

¹⁰ See the discussion on this point in Eli F. Heckscher, *Mercantilism*, trans. Mendel Shapiro (London, 1935), II, 159 ff. Heckscher writes: "It is natural to wonder how the notion that there could never be too great a population could ever be reconciled with the anxiety concerning the insufficiency of employment. In actual fact, this contradiction was never resolved."

¹¹ See Jacob Viner, *Studies in the theory of international trade* (New York and London, 1937), pp. 56-57, where it is pointed out that commentators on mercantilism have neglected to take sufficiently into account dissent—on economic and humanitarian grounds—from the dominant doctrine that low wages are desirable. Viner's first two chapters, with their clear exposition of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century economic theory and their rich documentation from writers in the period, are of great value to the student of the history of ideas.

ture; plenty of people must also cause *cheapnesse of wages*: which will cause cheapnesse of the Manufacture; in a scarcity of people wages must be dearer, which must cause the dearness of the Manufacture. . . ."¹² Mandeville was thinking in the same terms when he declared that "in a free Nation where Slaves are not allow'd of, the surest Wealth consists in a Multitude of laborious Poor."¹³ Though the insistence on populousness received support from serious economic writers by serious arguments, the maxim was as likely as not to be set down in nontechnical and popular writings without consideration of the implications and assumptions involved, as it was, for example, in the *Weekly journal, or Saturday's post*, April 11, 1724, and in the Irish weekly, the *Tribune*, No. 17 (1729).

Against the uncritical enunciation of the maxim there were sporadic protests. In an *Essay upon the probable methods of making a people gainer in the ballance of trade* (1699), Charles Davenant declared: "Their's is a wrong Opinion who think all Mouths profit a Country that consume its Product; And it may more truthfully be affirmed, That he who does not some way serve the Commonwealth, either by being employed, or by employing Others, is not only a useless, but a hurtful member to it."¹⁴ A similar protest came from Laurence Bradon in 1723:

*But tho' Populousness be designed as the greatest Blessing to a Nation, yet, in fact, it proves a Blessing only to that Kingdom and State, where due care is taken . . . that none, who are willing to work, shall be forced to be Idle for want of Employment. . . . And where none who are able are permitted to live idle, by begging, or other more Vicious Practices. . . .*¹⁵

Swift, too, made a protest of the same nature. In *The history of the four last years of the queen*, which he was writing in the trying days near the end of Anne's reign, he complained that "The maxim, 'That people are the riches of a nation,' hath been crudely understood by many writers and reasoners upon that subject." At the moment his animus was directed against the Palatines, whose numbers immigrating into England had increased the population by just so many dissenters; yet he was also establishing a general point: that populousness per se is

¹² *Britannia languens*, in *A select collection* . . . p. 349.

¹³ *The fable of the bees*, ed. F. B. Kaye (Oxford, 1924), I, 287.

¹⁴ P. 51.

¹⁵ *To pay old debts without new taxes* (London, 1723), p. xi.

not a blessing; that a person who does not function productively in economic or political society makes the nation poorer, not richer; and that such a person is comparable, to use Swift's own figure, to a wen, which, although it makes a man fatter, is "unsightly and troublesome, at best, and intercepts that nourishment, which would otherwise diffuse itself through the whole body."¹⁶

Viewed against this background, *A modest proposal* is seen to be another protest, in Swift's unique manner, against the unqualified maxim that people are the riches of a nation. The tract was written for a public in whose consciousness the maxim was firmly implanted, in the expectation that the ironic impact would thus be greater. The terrible irony in the bare maxim, divested of its supporting arguments, was even more apparent at this time than usual because of the famine conditions which prevailed in Ireland after three successive failures in harvests; and Swift takes occasion in two other tracts, one written in 1728 and one in 1729, to insist that "the uncontrolled maxim, 'That people are the riches of a Nation,' is no maxim here under our circumstances."¹⁷ Here, at least, was one country where populousness was not a virtue. Swift seemed to be aware—the evidence was before his eyes—of the contradiction in the mercantilist attitude that the wealth of a country was based on the poverty of the majority of its subjects. However, we must guard against endowing Swift with unusual knowledge of or insight into economic matters,¹⁸ or even seeing him as moving against the trend of mercantilist thought. His purpose was not primarily to expose an economic fallacy; it was purely propagandistic: to put the onus on England of vitiating the working of natural economic law in Ireland by denying Irishmen "the same natural rights common to the rest of mankind."

It would seem, on merely logical grounds, that Swift should have favored a reduction of the population to achieve a higher level of sub-

¹⁶ *Works*, X, 114–15.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, VII, 114, 139.

¹⁸ There is no evidence that Swift did any extended or systematic reading in economic theory. His library contained the following: Josiah Child, *Discourse on trade* (1693); Charles Davenant, *Picture of a modern whig: with other tracts* (1701); John Browne, *Essays on the trade and coin of Ireland* (1729); John Locke, *Tracts relating to money, interest and trade* (1696); William Petty, *Essays in political arithmetick* (1699); Samuel Madden, *Reflections and resolutions for the gentlemen of Ireland* (1738). I have listed these in the order in which they appear in the Sales Catalogue reprinted by Harold Williams in *Dean Swift's library* (Cambridge, 1932), Nos. 276, 288, 300, 412, 435, 444. To these may be added the economic tracts of Sir William Temple.

sistence, that he should have defended, for example, the emigration of the Irish people to the American colonies; and he did pretend to see in emigration a partial solution. In *Maxims controlled in Ireland* he wrote that he has often wished "for some years past, that instead of discouraging our people from seeking foreign soil, the public would rather pay for transporting all our unnecessary mortals, whether Papists or Protestants, to America."¹⁹ He repeats the view in the *Intelligencer*, No. 19: "It must needs be a very comfortable circumstance, in the present juncture, that some thousand families are gone, or going, or preparing to go, from hence, and settle themselves in America."²⁰ But these statements, viewed in their context, are seen to be ironic, their function being to emphasize the dire position of a country which must resort to emigration. In the light of contemporary economic theory, with its insistence on an increasing population, emigration could not be viewed with complacency; it was not acceptable as a solution. There was much concern that England's population was declining or was not increasing at a sufficiently rapid rate; and many mercantilists advocated encouragements to marriage, to achieve a higher birth rate,²¹ and laws to facilitate immigration.²² There were complaints that emigration to the colonies has been detrimental to the nation. "The peopling of the American Plantations subject to the Crown of England," wrote Roger Coke, "hath diminished the strength of Eng-

¹⁹ *Works*, VII, 70.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, IX, 328.

²¹ In *A modest proposal* Swift lists among the ironical advantages of his proposal that it "would be a great inducement to marriage, which all wise nations have either encouraged by rewards, or enforced by laws and penalties" (*Works*, VII, 214). Charles Davenant complained that the duties imposed on marriages and birth were detrimental: "a very grievous Burthen upon the poorer Sort, whose Numbers compose the Strength and Wealth of any Nation." He adds: "In order to have Hands to carry on Labour and Manufactures, which must make us Gainers in the Balance of Trade, we ought not to deter but rather invite Men to marry . . ." (*An essay upon the probable methods of making a people gainers in the ballance of trade* [London, 1699], p. 33). Contrast Swift's statement in *A proposal for giving badges to the beggars of Dublin* (1737): "As this is the only Christian country where people contrary to the old maxim, are the poverty and not the riches of the nation, so, the blessing of increase and multiply is by us converted into a curse: and, as marriage hath been ever countenanced in all free countries, so we should be less miserable if it were discouraged in ours, as far as can be consistent with Christianity" (*Works*, VII, 330).

²² In *The history of the four last years of the queen*, Swift makes an interesting application of the maxim, that people are the riches of a nation, to the problem of immigration (*Works*, IX, 114-15). On the immigration and naturalization of foreigners see Slingsby Bethel, *An account of the French usurpation upon the trade of England* (London, 1679), p. 15; Charles Davenant, *Discourses on the public revenues and trade of England* (London, 1698), II, 199; William Wood, *A survey of trade* (London, 1718), pp. 299 ff.

land."²³ It is not, Slingsby Bethel maintained, in "the interest of State, to suffer such multitudes of people to pass out of his Majesties Kingdoms into other Princes Dominions, or the Western Plantations, thereby to disfurnish our selves of people; the sad consequences and effects whereof, are too visible in the misfortunes of *Spain*."²⁴ The author of *Britannia languens* argued in the same vein: "... our *Plantation-Trade* hath robbed and prevented us of some Millions of our People, amongst which very many being, or might have been Manufacturers, the Nation hath also lost more Millions of Pounds in the loss of their Manufactures."²⁵ Those Irishmen, Swift among them,²⁶ who had observed the losses to Ireland resulting from the emigration of workers in the Irish woolen industry to France, Spain, Germany, and the Low Countries—an exodus caused by the restrictive acts passed by the English Parliament at the close of the seventeenth century—would have read such complaints understandingly.

Many mercantilists found, however, that they could reconcile emigration to colonies with the desire for an increasing population and the fear of loss of numbers. It could not be denied that by reducing the number of laborers in the nation emigration tended to raise the costs of labor and manufactures and thus to put the country in a less favorable position for advantageous foreign trade; yet it could be and was argued that colonies compensated for the disadvantages created by providing raw materials to be manufactured in the mother-country and a market for the finished products. Emigration to colonies whose trade was carefully controlled by navigation acts was justifiable, therefore, if such colonies created employment at home and swelled the exports to a value greater than that lost by the numbers who emigrated. Thus Sir Josiah Child wrote: "That all Colonies and foreign Plantations do endamage their Mother-Kingdom, whereof the Trades (of such Plantations) are not confined to their said Mother-Kingdom, by good Laws and severe Execution of those Laws."²⁷ He continued:

²³ *A treatise wherein is demonstrated that the church and state of England are in equal danger with the trade of it* (London, 1671), p. 26.

²⁴ *An account of the French usurpation upon the trade of England* (London, 1679), p. 16.

²⁵ P. 370.

²⁶ Any reader of the Irish tracts will recall examples of Swift's laments about the Irish woolen industry. See, as typical, *The present miserable state of Ireland*, in *Works*, VII, 160 ff.

²⁷ P. 194.

Plantations being at first furnished, and afterwards successively supplied with People from their Mother-Kingdoms, and People being Riches, that loss of People to the Mother-Kingdoms, be it more or less, is certainly a damage, except the employment of those People abroad, do cause the employment of so many more at home in their Mother-Kingdoms. . . .²⁸

The argument is more fully expressed by John Cary:

. . . it having been a great question among many thoughtful Men whether our Foreign Plantations have been an advantage to this Nation, the reasons they give against them are, that they have drained us of Multitudes of our People who might have been serviceable at home and advanced Improvements in Husbandry and Manufacture; That the Kingdom of *England* is worse Peopled by so much as they are increased; and that Inhabitants being the Wealth of a Nation, by how much they are lessened, by so much we are poorer than when we first began to settle our Foreign Colonies; Though I allow the last Proposition to be true, that People are or may be made the Wealth of a Nation . . . Its my Opinion that our Plantations are an Advantage . . . every one more or less, as they take off our Product and Manufactures, supply us with Commodities which may be either wrought up here, or Exported again, or prevent fetching things of the same Nature from other Princes for our home Consumption, imploy our Poor, and encourage our Navigation. . . .²⁹

Such justifications, as Swift was aware, had no application to Ireland, which was itself treated as a colony, with its trade strictly controlled by the Navigation Acts in the interests of England. An emigrant from England, Holland, or France might be looked upon as a unit of economic value who would eventually return his value to the mother-country; but one could hardly apply the same economic logic to the Irish emigrant, whose country was peculiarly removed from the operations of economic law. "I have often taken notice," Swift wrote, "both in print and in discourse, that there is no topic so fallacious . . . as to argue how we ought to act in Ireland, from the example of England, Holland, France, or any other country, whose inhabitants are allowed the common rights and liberties of humankind."³⁰ Public-spirited Irishmen were concerned at the numbers who were departing. Even Lord Primate Boulter, whose first thought was for the welfare of England rather than for Ireland, was disturbed in 1728, when

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

²⁹ *An essay on the state of England, in relation to its trade, its poor, and its taxes* (Bristol, 1695), pp. 65-66.

³⁰ *Works*, VII, 196; see also VII, 66, 123, 339.

famine was widespread, at the size of the emigration. In a letter written to the Duke of Newcastle, then Secretary of State, Boulter brought the problem before the English Cabinet for possible parliamentary action:

I am very sorry I am obliged to give your Grace so melancholy an account of the state of this kingdom. . . . For we have had three bad harvests together there [in the north], which has made oatmeal, which is their great subsistence, much dearer than ordinary. . . . We have had for several years some agents from the colonies in *America*, and several masters of ships that have gone about the country, and deluded the people with stories of great plenty and estates to be had for going for in those parts of the world: and they have been better able to seduce people, by reason of the necessities of the poor so late. . . . But whatever occasions their going, it is certain that above 4,200 men, women, and children have been shipped off from hence for the *West Indies* within three years, and of these above 3,100 this last summer. . . . The whole north is in a ferment at present, and people every day engaging one another to go next year to the *West Indies*. The humour has spread like a contagious distemper, and the people will hardly hear any body that tries to cure them of their madness.³¹

Swift, too, was genuinely perturbed. In 1728 and 1729 he refers several times to the subject of emigrating Irishmen, particularly to those who are leaving for America, which for several reasons he thinks no better than Ireland. Like Boulter, he believed that they had been given false representations and that they were doomed to disappointment; yet he is not at a loss to understand their motives for going, since "men in the extremest degree of misery, and want, will naturally fly to the first appearance of relief, let it be ever so vain, or visionary."³² It was at this time that Swift wrote *A modest proposal* and its lesser known companion piece, *An answer to the craftsman*. This last tract was occasioned by the license given to France to recruit Irishmen for military service in the French army; and it too is a bitter and ironic commentary, among other matters, on the subject of Ireland's depopulation by England. As he had done in *A modest proposal*, Swift makes in this tract an ironical computation of the monetary profit to Ireland from the reduction and destruction of its people. And he adds this recommendation: ". . . for fear of increasing the natives in this

³¹ Letters written by His Excellency Hugh Boulter . . . to several ministers of state in England (Dublin, 1770), I, 209-10.

³² Works, IX, 330; see also VII, 120, 123.

island, that an annual draught, according to the number born every year, be exported to whatever prince will bear the carriage, or transplanted to the English dominions on the American continent, as a screen between his Majesty's English subjects and the savage Indians."³³

What Swift wanted for Ireland was not fewer people but more opportunities—opportunities that would present themselves if England adopted a less restrictive policy, if the Irish absentees were regulated, and if the Irish people could be made to see wherein their welfare lay. He maintained, as did many contemporary Irishmen,³⁴ that Ireland possessed the potentialities of a rich country and could, under proper conditions, easily support its population. Ireland, he wrote, "is the poorest of all civilized countries in Europe, with every natural advantage to make it one of the richest."

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³³ *Ibid.*, VII, 222. Compare this passage with what Swift has to say in the *Intelligencer*, No. 19, on the conditions which confront the Irish emigrant to America: "The English established in those colonies, are in great want of men to inhabit that tract of ground, which lies between them, and the wild Indians who are not reduced under their dominion. We read of some barbarous people, whom the Romans placed in their armies, for no other service, than to blunt their enemies' swords, and afterward to fill up trenches with their dead bodies. And thus our people who transport themselves, are settled in those interjacent tracts, as a screen against the insults of the savages, and may have as much land, as they can clear from the woods, at a very reasonable rate, if they can afford to pay about a hundred years' purchase by their labour" (*Works*, IX, 329-30).

³⁴ Cf. John Browne, *An essay on trade in general, and on that of Ireland in particular* (Dublin, 1728), pp. 38-39; George Berkeley, *The querist* (1735), Nos. 123-24, 132-34, 272-73; *Some thoughts on the tillage of Ireland* (Dublin, 1738), pp. 52 f.

DEUX PAMPHLETS MILANAIS DE STENDHAL

ROBERT VIGNERON

LE 21 novembre 1817, après une absence de plus de sept mois, Henri Beyle rentrait à Milan;¹ et bientôt il reprenait avec délices son aimable vie de dilettante. Jusqu'à deux heures, il lisait ou travaillait à sa *Vie de Napoléon*; il se promenait jusqu'à quatre, et il dînait à cinq; à sept, il faisait une visite ou deux; à huit enfin, il paraissait à la Scala. Il y écoutait la musique de Rossini, en rêvant à sa passion du moment; il y admirait, non sans émoi, les ballets de Viganò; entre temps, il allait bavarder de loge en loge, et s'attardait dans celle de Monsignor Lodovico di Breme, où il rencontrait à l'occasion Monti, Pellico, Berchet, Borsieri, Porro, ou Confalonieri.² La question qu'on y discutait alors furieusement, et qui faisait aussi dans la ville le sujet de toutes les conversations, c'était la *questione della lingua*: le 4 décembre 1817, Vincenzo Monti avait lu à la séance de l'*Istituto di scienze, lettere ed arti* l'épître dédicatoire de sa *Proposta di alcune correzioni ed aggiunte al Vocabolario della Crusca*; et, pour les jeunes libéraux milanais, résister aux prétentions des pédants toscans, répudier les mots et les tournures trécentistes, et réclamer l'adoption d'un vocabulaire national commun, c'était lutter, autant que pour l'unité linguistique, pour l'unité politique de l'Italie.³

Cependant, Beyle se lassait de la *Vie de Napoléon* à laquelle il avait si assidûment travaillé depuis son retour; et, le 12 janvier 1818, en marge de son *Cahier N° 4*, il notait: «Corrigé jusqu'ici la copie faite

¹ Cf. A. Mareste, Milan le 1^{er} décembre 1817, *Correspondance*, éd. H. Martineau (Paris: Divan, 1933-34), V, 75; et P. Martino, «Notes stendhaliennes», *Revue de littérature comparée*, II (1922), 120, où, d'après la *Gazzetta di Milano*, la date de l'arrivée de Beyle est fixée au 22 novembre.

² Cf. Manuscrits de Grenoble, R. 292 carton, 1^{re} copie, 1^{er} cahier, paginé 1-21, daté en haut et à droite, de la main de Stendhal: «26 9bre 1817»; *Napoléon*, éd. L. Royer (Paris: Champion, 1929), I, 403; à Mareste, Milan le 1^{er} décembre 1817, *Correspondance*, V, 79-80; à Mareste, Grenoble le 14 avril 1818, *ibid.*, p. 137; et *Rome, Naples et Florence*, par M. de Stendhal (Paris: Delaunay, 1826), I, 80-83. Sur Beyle et Monsignor di Breme, voir notre «Stendhal et Hazlitt», *Modern Philology*, XXXV (1938), 378-82.

³ Cf. P. Martino, «L'Ouvrage de grammaire de Stendhal», *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, LXXXII (1923), 113-22; et *Racine et Shakspeare*, éd. P. Martino (Paris: Champion, 1925), Préface, I, lxxii-lxiv.

par Delgood. Fatigué par excès d'attention, je m'arrête le 12 janvier. Jusqu'au 23, je me promets de ne rien écrire de sérieux.⁴ Malgré tout, il faisait encore recopier par Delbono, le 18 janvier, les trois premiers cahiers ainsi corrigés; et, en février, il ébauchait une préface et consignait dans ses papiers quelques idées *for the Life*,⁵ mais ensuite, de plusieurs mois, il ne revit plus son ouvrage, qu'il fit circuler parmi ses amis pour solliciter leurs conseils.⁶

En attendant, il s'occupa de préparer une seconde édition de *Rome, Naples et Florence en 1817*. L'idée lui en était venue au début de janvier; vers la fin du mois, il achetait quelques voyages en Italie, qu'il se mettait à lire en notant à mesure les erreurs, et il griffonnait dans son propre exemplaire de *Rome, Naples et Florence* quelques observations et réflexions nouvelles.⁷ Le 15 février, il ébauchait pour un *Supplément* quelques pages sur Padoue et Rome, inspirées de la *Storia di Milano* de Verri;⁸ le 20, il tirait des *Memorie inutili* de Gozzi quelques paragraphes sur Venise, son gouvernement et ses mœurs;⁹ mais c'est le 23 qu'il se mit vraiment à l'œuvre. Ce jour-là, pour répondre à la question naguère posée à la page 326 de *Rome, Naples et Florence*: «Qu'est-ce qu'une littérature sans liberté?», il rédigea de longues considérations sur la littérature italienne. Il y montrait l'oppression dont elle se mourait; il y déplorait le despotisme des pédants accrédités; il y expliquait comment les jeunes écrivains, toujours empêchés d'écrire librement sur des sujets intéressants, tombent dans l'élégance la plus

⁴ R. 292 carton, cahier N° 4, fol. non numéroté; cf. *Napoléon*, I, 426.

⁵ Cf. R. 292 carton, 1^{ère} copie, en tête, note autographe: «1^{ère} Copie. Ces trois premiers cahiers recopiés le 18 janvier 1818. Ancienne copie. La nouvelle est reliée»; *ibid.*, 1^{ère} copie, 3^e cahier, fol. 23, note autographe: «1^{ère} copie. M. Delgood recopie les trois premiers cahiers le 18 janvier 1818»; *Napoléon*, I, 1, préface datant vraisemblablement du 1^{er} février 1818; *ibid.*, p. xlv, liste d'emprunts à faire à la *Puissance politique et militaire de la Russie* de Wilson, datée du 10 février 1818; *ibid.*, p. 362, note intitulée «Pensée for the Life, en février 1818»; et *ibid.*, pp. 328 et 437, note du 21 février 1818 à la fin de R. 292 registre, t. II.

⁶ Il ne devait reprendre que le 13 juin 1818 le tome II et le 23 juin le tome I des registres R. 292.

⁷ Cf. A. Mareste, Milan le 3 janvier 1818, *Correspondance*, V, 88-89; et *Rome, Naples et Florence en 1817*, par M. de Stendhal, *Officier de cavalerie* (Paris: Delaunay, 1817), exemplaire de Civita-Vecchia, notes autographes du 29 janvier 1818, citées par D. Muller, *Rome, Naples et Florence* (Paris: Champion, 1919), II, 477-78.

⁸ R. 5896, t. II, fol. 139-40 et 158-61; cf. aussi, *ibid.*, fol. 141, deux fragments datés du 16 février 1818. Les additions destinées par Boyle à la seconde édition de *Rome, Naples et Florence* ont été publiées, non sans erreurs ou omissions, dans *Pages d'Italie*, éd. H. Martineau (Paris: Divan, 1933). Nous renverrons toujours au manuscrit.

⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, fol. 141, 142, 147 et 148.

creuse et la plus ridicule : «Ecrire n'est plus un moyen de satisfaire son âme, et il n'est en Italie aucune âme un peu bien née qui trouve quelque soulagement à parcourir les productions du jour.» Les livres, poursuivait-il, ne se vendent plus; il manque à l'Italie tous ces bons écrivains dans le genre médiocre, qui font la richesse d'une littérature en forçant les grands hommes à s'élancer au-delà; et, même s'il naissait des gens de génie en Italie, ils seraient nécessairement nobles ou riches, ils se permettraient, faute d'un public difficile, beaucoup de choses communes, et ils sembleraient ennuyeux aux lecteurs de Londres ou de Paris. M. de Stendhal ne perdait pourtant pas tout espoir: il sentait chez les jeunes Italiens la qualité essentielle, la force; certes, ils étaient souvent peu aimables, mais ils étaient toujours eux-mêmes: «A ces grands hommes inconnus qui ne peuvent se montrer par des actions, il ne manque que l'idée d'écrire pour effacer les Alfieri et balancer les Machiavel.»¹⁰

Telles étaient les idées que ressassait Beyle quand, le mercredi 25 février 1818, parut enfin à Milan le tome premier de la *Proposta* de Monti.¹¹ Le soir même, dans une loge de la Scala—celle de Monsignor di Breme sans doute—il prenait part à une conversation sur la question de la langue.¹² Dès le lendemain 26 février, il s'avisait de mettre

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 143-47. Les fol. 146 et 147 sont datés respectivement: «23 fév. 1818» et «23 Fév 1818». Le fragment débute, fol. 143, par l'indication: «Après Qu'est-ce qu'une littérature sans liberté»; or c'est à la page 326 de *Rome, Naples et Florence en 1817* qu'était posée cette question, à laquelle le nouveau développement était manifestement destiné à servir de réponse.

¹¹ Les commentateurs s'accordent pour placer en décembre 1817 la publication de la première partie du tome I de la *Proposta*: cf. notamment: A. Bertoldi, *Epistolario di Vincenzo Monti* (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1928-31), IV, 425; G. Mazzoni, *L'Ottocento* (Milano: Vallardi, 1934), I, 335. Il est vrai que Monti lui-même écrit dans sa lettre du 1^{er} décembre 1817 à Isabella Teotochi Albrizzi (*Epistolario*, IV, 425) que le premier volume paraîtra en deux parties et que la première est déjà chez le brocheur; mais c'est seulement le 23 février 1818 qu'il annoncera au marquis G. G. Trivulzio l'envoi de quelques exemplaires de l'ouvrage (*ibid.*, V, 12); et c'est seulement le 1^{er} mars qu'il annoncera à l'avocat A. Nota l'envoi des trois exemplaires qu'il lui a promis (*ibid.*, p. 13; cf. p. 10). D'autre part, dans une lettre du samedi 28 février 1818, publiée par I. Rinieri, *Della vita e delle opere di Silvio Pellico* (Torino: Roux, 1898), I, 271, Silvio Pellico écrit à son frère Luigi: «Il desiderato volume di Monti è finalmente stato pubblicato mercoledì [25], e subito presi la tua copia e te la spedii. Tutto ciò che v'ha di Monti in quel volume è divino; io ne sono rapito.» Or ces remarques ne peuvent guère s'appliquer qu'à l'épître dédicatoire publiée en tête de la première partie, dont la mise en vente aurait donc eu lieu le mercredi 25 février 1818. Sur la questione della lingua, cf. Vincenzo Vivaldi, *Le Controversie intorno alla nostra lingua* (Catanzaro: Callò, 1894-98); et Thérèse Labande-Jeanroy, *La Question de la langue en Italie* (Strasbourg: Faculté des Lettres, 1925), et *La Question de la langue en Italie de Baretti à Manzoni* (Paris: Champion, 1925).

¹² Cf. R. 5896, t. II, fol. 151, note autographe: «26^{fe} sur conv[ersation] in loge du 25».

à profit les idées ainsi recueillies en préparant pour la seconde édition de *Rome, Naples et Florence* une étude plus poussée de ce problème auquel il avait déjà consacré, dans l'édition de 1817, à l'article Florence, une douzaine de pages inspirées par une conversation aux Cascine et une conversation dans le salon de Mme ***. Sous le titre de «Langue italienne», il ébaucha donc quelques pages fort vives destinées à se raccorder à la page 163: «Ils mettent un amour-propre bien grand et bien irritable», disait-il de ses interlocuteurs florentins, «à ne se servir d'aucune tournure empruntée du français (un francisme) et cependant le peu d'idées fines ou un peu pittoresques par leur généralité, qu'ils aient en philosophie, en morale, en politique, en grammaire générale, ils les doivent aux philosophes français. Ils veulent exprimer cela par des tournures du 15^e siècle. C'est comme si M. Bⁱⁿ Constant ne voulait employer aucune tournure, aucun mot qui ne fût pas dans Amiot.» Il s'irritait des critiques qu'ils faisaient de la *Proposta*; et il déplorait l'affectation qui depuis trois siècles étouffait leur littérature: «Les hommes qui peuplent la société sont ici plus fins, plus portés à une imagination enflammée qu'en France. S'ils avaient pu depuis trois siècles être naturels en écrivant, leur littérature balancerait la nôtre. Mais tout ce qui a écrit est un *Sor pédant* ou *hypocrite* ou du moins *enchaîné*. De là le manque total en italien de tournures vives, nobles, pittoresques pour exprimer les idées fines. De là le manque de goût qui porte les génies les plus nobles et les plus élevés à employer des images révoltantes et basses.» Il tournait en ridicule l'intolérable prétention des pédants toscans, qui veulent imposer à tout le reste de l'Italie le vocabulaire de la *Crusca* et les tournures des *Trecentisti*; et il reprochait aux écrivains milanais ou vénitiens ou piémontais ou napolitains leurs vains efforts pour s'exprimer en toscan: «[Toutes les tournures du vénitien, du milanais, du bolonais qui comme un lierre antique ont pénétré toutes les sinuosités du caractère national, les écrivains] les portent sans s'en douter dans leur prétendu toscan, dès qu'ils s'en écartent ils *écrivent dans une langue morte*. Or voyez quels chefs-d'œuvre nous devons à ces milliers de gens instruits qui depuis cinq cents ans ont écrit en latin, pas même un ouvrage passable.»¹³

¹³ R. 5896, t. II, fol. 150-53, brouillon autographe. Ce fragment est intitulé «Langue italienne»; et l'auteur a lui-même indiqué: «Pour 163», c'est-à-dire pour la page 163 de *Rome, Naples et Florence* en 1817. Il y a une lacune entre les fol. 152 et 153; et le bas du fol. 153 manque. «Monti 1^{ère} partie» est cité au fol. 151; le «Traité de M. le comte Jules

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Mais Beyle s'aperçut bientôt qu'il s'était laissé emporter par sa verve, et qu'il avait là l'embryon d'un véritable pamphlet qui arriverait à point dans la polémique déclenchée par la *Proposta*. Le jour même, ou au plus tard le lendemain 27 février, il en commençait l'élaboration, sous le titre modeste de *Petit mot d'un Barbare sur le beau livre de M. Monti*, et sous la forme d'un dialogue divisé en plusieurs *giornate*.¹⁴

Dans la *Giornata prima*, composée le 26 ou le 27 février, il déplore la timidité excessive de l'illustre Monti, lequel, dans sa *Proposta*, n'a pas osé donner la sanction de son génie aux tournures courantes et aux mots consacrés par l'usage commun. Puis, posant en principe que le premier instrument du génie d'un peuple, c'est sa langue, et qu'une langue bien faite soutient l'homme qui la parle, il s'élève contre la tyrannie des pédants qui veulent imposer à l'Italie entière non pas ce qu'il y a de commun dans la langue qu'ont parlée et que parlent encore les bons auteurs de toutes les régions de l'Italie, mais bien la langue qu'on parlait à Florence au XIII^e siècle.¹⁵

La *Giornata seconda*, rédigée les 27 et 28 février, renferme quelques aperçus historiques sur l'origine et l'évolution des dialectes italiens depuis la fondation de Rome jusqu'à nos jours. Beyle, se pillant lui-même et développant sans vergogne des idées déjà exprimées à la page 152 de *Rome, Naples et Florence*, explique d'abord comment au XIII^e siècle Milan, Venise, Florence, Naples et le Piémont parlaient des langues différentes, et comment la langue de Florence l'emporta, car de toutes ces villes qui avaient des droits égaux à devenir la puissance dominante en Italie et à imposer leur langue à la péninsule, c'était Florence qui avait le plus de liberté et de richesses et par conséquent

Particari, 1818, Milan» et le «dernier chap. de Particari» sont cités aux fol. 151 et 152. On sait que la première partie du tome I de la *Proposta* renfermait, après l'épître dédicatoire de Monti à Trivulzio, un traité du comte Particari intitulé: «Degli scrittori del trecento e de' loro imitatori».

¹⁴ Ce pamphlet a été publié par M. Martino dans son édition critique de *Racine et Shakespeare*, II, 41-98, d'après le manuscrit Champion (copie Delbono) sous le titre: *Des périls de la langue italienne ou mémoire à un ami incertain dans ses idées sur la langue*. Comme la reconstitution que nous en proposons d'après les ébauches de Grenoble diffère sur plusieurs points de celle de M. Martino, nous aurons toujours soin de renvoyer d'abord au manuscrit original, en indiquant entre crochets la pagination primitive après la pagination du registre R. 5896, t. IV.

¹⁵ R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 27 [3]-31 [6 bis], brouillon autographe; *Racine et Shakespeare*, II, 47-50. Les fol. [1] et [2] manquent; ils se retrouveraient peut-être dans le manuscrit Champion reproduit par M. Martino.

les plus belles idées et les plus grands écrivains. Quant à Milan, accablée sous la tyrannie des Visconti et des Sforza, elle était en retard d'un siècle sur Florence, et ne parvint qu'en l'année 1400 au degré de civilisation où Florence était arrivée dès l'an 1300. Il montre ensuite comment, au XIV^e siècle, Florence fit des progrès décisifs tandis que Milan restait barbare, et comment le toscan remporta alors une victoire définitive sur le milanais, le vénitien, le gènois, le piémontais, le bolonais et le napolitain, qui furent à jamais réduits au rang de dialectes inférieurs; et il conclut: «Le grand malheur de l'Italie, le malheur à jamais déplorable, c'est que le vainqueur n'ait pas exterminé ses rivaux.» Ce point établi, Beyle posa la plume, non sans avoir pris soin de se tracer en marge son programme du lendemain: «Suivre de développer 152 et sequentes, le 28 F^{er}.»¹⁶ Le grand malheur, enchaînant-il effectivement le lendemain 28 février, c'est qu'un intérêt quelconque n'ait pas imposé dans toute l'Italie aux gens bien élevés, comme cela arriva en France, l'emploi des mêmes mots pour rendre les mêmes idées, et des mêmes tournures pour exprimer les mêmes sentiments. A ce malheur il n'y a qu'un remède: s'inspirer de la définition donnée par Monti du *vocabolario nazionale*, et créer un vocabulaire qui serait la collection de tous les mots consacrés par le bon usage dans l'ensemble du pays et entendus de la même façon par tous. Or le *Vocabolario della Crusca*, ouvrage de parti, ne répond point à ce besoin, car il veut imposer à toute l'Italie le toscan de 1300; cependant, la *Crusca* n'est pas inutile, comme le montre un exemple tiré de l'histoire des lettres françaises.¹⁷

Cet exemple, c'est l'Académie, dont Beyle explique le rôle dans une troisième *Giornata*. Richelieu, qui l'avait fondée surtout pour brider le caractère léger et moqueur des Français, lui avait donné comme but apparent de maintenir la pureté de la langue en interdisant toute innovation, la langue étant par nature un objet de convention qui doit rester immuable. L'Académie ainsi organisée a établi un dictionnaire, qui fait loi dans toutes les discussions sur la propriété d'un mot ou

¹⁶ R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 38 [13], note autographe.

¹⁷ R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 32 [7]-41 [16], brouillon autographe, intitulé: «Giornata seconda»; Racine et Shakespeare, II, 47-54. Les fol. 32 [7] et 38 [13] sont datés respectivement, en haut et à gauche: «27^{er} 1818» et «27 Fe[vrier]». En marge du fol. 33 [8], Beyle a lui-même indiqué un emprunt à la page 152 de *Rome, Naples et Florence en 1817*: «St[en]dhal 152». De cette *Giornata seconda* primitive, Beyle a ensuite fait une *Giornata seconda*, fol. 32 [7]-36 [11], et une *Giornata terza*, fol. 36 [11]-41 [16].

d'une expression. Et Beyle, pour démontrer toute l'importance de cette institution, cite le fâcheux exemple d'écrivains qui, ne désirant point en devenir membres, se sont affranchis de sa tutelle et ont voulu innover en matière de langue: Mme de Staël et M. de Chateaubriand. «Au lieu de chercher à avoir des idées neuves et ensuite à les rendre d'une manière naturelle et claire, ces talents remarquables ont tourné toute leur attention vers le style lui-même. Ils ont trouvé une *manière affectée* qui par son brillant et sa nouveauté a caché pour quelque temps la pauvreté du fond de leurs idées ... et dans vingt ans on les lira justement autant que l'on lit aujourd'hui Balzac, Voiture et tous les gens à affectation.» Aussi Beyle conclut-il en affirmant l'utilité de la *Crusca*: il est indispensable, pour retarder la vieillesse et la mort d'une langue, qu'il existe un tribunal qui se pose en juge inflexible en matière de langue et de style, mais qui par contre donne le moins d'attention possible au fond même des idées.¹⁸

Le surlendemain 2 mars, Beyle ajouta à son pamphlet une quatrième *Giornata*.¹⁹ Après avoir, dans la *Giornata* précédente, traité surtout du vocabulaire, il insiste maintenant sur l'importance capitale des tournures pour l'expression vivante des affections de l'âme. Ainsi le peuple milanais, s'exprimant depuis des siècles dans son propre dialecte, a des tournures parfaitement adaptées non seulement à ses grandes passions, mais encore aux plus petits mouvements de son cœur. Or les gens comme il faut étudient le toscan; mais, tandis que la langue populaire s'enrichit incessamment, la langue noble a depuis longtemps cessé de s'enrichir; aussi, dès qu'un homme bien élevé veut exprimer un sentiment avec force et exactitude, a-t-il recours à un mot de son dialecte: d'où un grave danger pour la langue de Dante et de l'Arioste. Le bel italien, l'italien qu'on écrit, n'est pas un. Arrivé là, Beyle se souvint des quelques pages qu'il avait ébauchées, le 26 février, pour la seconde édition de *Rome, Naples et Florence*, et, toujours

¹⁸ R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 42 [17]–48 [23], brouillon autographe, intitulé d'abord: «Giornata ...», puis «Giornata quarta»; *Racine et Shakespeare*, II, 54–61. Celle *Giornata* ne porte aucune indication de date. Elle n'avait d'abord pas été numérotée, et *quarta* a été ajouté après coup d'une encre plus pâle, évidemment après la division de la *Giornata seconda* primitive en deux *giornate*.

¹⁹ R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 49 [24]–60 [33], brouillon autographe, intitulé: «Giornata ... Dangers de la langue italienne»; *Racine et Shakespeare*, II, 61–69. Cette *Giornata* est datée «2 mars» au fol. 56 [30]; elle n'a pas été numérotée dans l'ébauche. Les fol. 57 verso [31 bis] et 58 [31 ter] portent des additions autographes à la rédaction primitive.

pratique, il en tira tout ce qu'il put incorporer sans trop de peine à son pamphlet. A la page 27 de son brouillon, il transcrivit littéralement: «Toutes les *tournures* du vénitien, du milanais, du bolonais qui, comme un lierre antique, ont pénétré toutes les sinuosités du caractère national, les écrivains les portent sans s'en douter dans leur prétendu toscan. Dès qu'ils s'en écartent ils écrivent dans une *langue morte*. Voilà le nom terrible de la maladie qui travaille l'Italie. Or voyez quels chefs-d'œuvre nous devons à ces milliers de gens instruits qui depuis cinq cents ans ont écrit en latin, ces hommes supérieurs n'ont même pas pu parvenir à nous donner un ouvrage passable.»²⁰ Puis, méthodiquement, il biffa sur l'ébauche primitive le passage correspondant, écrivit en travers en gros caractères le mot *Toock*, et nota en marge: «Petit mot d'un Barbare sur le beau livre de M. Monti, 16 pag. in-8°. Commencé le 26 ou le 27 février 1818.»²¹ Certes, poursuivit-il ensuite, les mots qu'employaient ces humanistes étaient aussi latins que sont toscans les mots dont se servent les littérateurs vénitiens ou piémontais; mais les tournures ne portaient point du cœur. Or on n'a d'énergie en aucun genre qu'en parlant spontanément sa langue naturelle; et l'influence des signes sur la faculté de penser est extrême. Si donc écrire en une langue morte est funeste à l'inspiration, c'est aussi un obstacle presque insurmontable sinon à la découverte, du moins à la diffusion de la vérité. Dans les discussions grammaticales par exemple, il faut une langue qui prenne *l'habitude sur le fait*, et qui permette aux lecteurs de vérifier immédiatement les assertions d'un critique dans leurs propres souvenirs, sans interposition d'habitudes dialectales.²² A ce point, après avoir réservé une page blanche aux *Beautés poétiques de toutes les langues* de l'abbé Scoppa, Beyle imagina d'introduire dans son pamphlet une de ses thèses favorites en montrant comment, par ailleurs, les jeunes écrivains italiens avaient été pendant des siècles paralysés par le manque de liberté. «Depuis l'an 1535 que Florence perdit sa liberté», amorça-t-il à la page 30 de son brouillon, «jusqu'aux jours heureux que l'Italie dut aux Léopold et aux Joseph II ... »; puis, se reportant au développement ébauché le 23 février pour la seconde édition de *Rome, Naples et Florence*, il enchaîna et

²⁰ R. 5896, t. IV, 53 [27]; *Racine et Shakspeare*, II, 63-64. Cf. R. 5896, t. II, fol. 153, fragment du premier jet de ce même développement, d'abord destiné à la seconde édition de *Rome, Naples et Florence*.

²¹ R. 5896, t. II, fol. 153; cf. ci-dessus, n. 13.

²² R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 53 [27]-56 [30]; *Racine et Shakspeare*, II, 64-65.

transcrivit presque mot pour mot: «... on peut avancer qu'un jeune littérateur italien ne fut jamais dans la situation d'écrire clairement sur un sujet intéressant. Dès qu'un sujet intéressait vraiment le public, enflammait les âmes, il était défendu d'en parler; et en revanche nos littérateurs étaient sans cesse portés à écrire avec érudition et élégance sur quelque niaiserie littéraire. ... Or l'élégance devient bientôt la chose la plus ridicule du monde dans les pays où la majeure partie des littérateurs n'écrit pas habituellement sur des sujets également intéressants pour l'écrivain et le lecteur.»²³ Ensuite, après avoir noté en marge de l'ébauche primitive: «Toock page 30 on Monti 2 mars», il poursuivit: «De 1535 à 1770 écrire n'était plus en Italie un moyen de *sfogar* son âme pour le jeune homme tourmenté de ses idées, et par conséquent lire n'était plus un moyen de se soulager pour l'âme opprimée de ses chagrins.» Aussi n'a-t-on jamais vu se renouveler en Italie l'anecdote contée par Rousseau dans ses *Confessions*—la princesse de Talmont qui lit la *Nouvelle Héloïse* au lieu d'aller au bal—et cependant nos âmes sentent l'amour d'une manière bien plus profonde que les âmes françaises». Enfin, pour achever «la triste énumération des dangers», Beyle s'inspira de *Rome, Naples et Florence en 1817*: «Parmi nous, et je demande à chacun de mettre franchement la main sur sa conscience, parmi nous un homme qui écrit une lettre ouvre son Dictionnaire, et un mot n'est jamais assez pompeux ni assez fort. De là la littérature italienne, ou le portrait fidèle de toutes les émotions que l'on éprouve en Italie, depuis le transport de passion le plus violent d'Otello jusqu'à l'émotion la plus pudique et la moins avouée que sent la Virginie (de *Paul et Virginie*), toute la littérature italienne, dis-je, s'est égarée dans une suite de *superlatifs* et dans un style continuellement *tendu*.» Tels sont, concluait-il, les dangers qui menacent la littérature italienne.²⁴

²³ R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 56 [30]–57 [31]; *Racine et Shakespeare*, 65–66. Cf. R. 5896, t. II, fol. 145, premier jet destiné à la seconde édition de *Rome, Naples et Florence*: «Le jeune littérateur italien n'est donc jamais dans la situation d'écrire clairement sur un sujet intéressant. Dès qu'un sujet intéresse le public il est défendu d'en parler, en revanche il est sans cesse porté à écrire avec érudition et élégance sur quelque niaiserie littéraire. Or l'élégance devient bientôt la chose la plus ridicule du monde dans les pays où la majeure partie des littérateurs n'écrit pas habituellement sur des sujets également intéressants pour l'écrivain et pour le lecteur.» En marge, Beyle note: «Toock page 30 on Monti 2 mars», c'est-à-dire: «Pris pour la page 30 du pamphlet sur Monti le 2 mars», la page 30 étant le fol. 56 de R. 5896, t. IV, primitivement numéroté 30 par l'auteur.

²⁴ R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 57 [31]–60 [33]; *Racine et Shakespeare*, II, 66–69. Plusieurs des idées de ce passage sont empruntées presque littéralement à *Rome, Naples et Florence en 1817*, comme l'auteur lui-même l'indique en marge, fol. 59 [32] et 60 [33], par les annota-

Enfin, le lendemain 3 mars, dans une cinquième *Giornata* qu'il considérait comme l'*ultima*, il entreprit d'adresser à Monti une «critique particulière». Pour commencer, il raconte la mésaventure du candidat au Parlement anglais, qui, pour avoir sottement exposé à un électeur *tory*, dans un bourg partagé en deux camps ennemis, une doctrine conciliante, s'attira cette réponse: «Tout le rang de maisons qui est sur la rive droite du ruisseau est *tory*, tout le rang qui est à gauche est *whig*, et il y a le ruisseau au milieu pour les gens qui ne sont ni *whigs* ni *torys*.» De cet apologue, il fait ensuite l'application à Monti, lequel, dans sa *Proposta*, n'a pas osé prendre parti: «A la grossièreté près, la réponse énergique et brève du *tory* rend toute ma pensée sur le nouvel ouvrage de l'auteur de la *Mascheroniana*.» Cette humble tentative de *mezzo termine* expose en effet le poète non seulement aux clameurs des pédants bouffis d'orgueil, dont il met en doute l'autorité, mais encore aux reproches des philosophes de la Haute Italie, qui ont lu Tracy et refusent tout respect au *Vocabolario della Crusca*. Prêchant lui-même d'exemple, Beyle, idéologue invétéré, attaque les prolégomènes que l'illustre auteur a mis à son recueil de mots: il doute qu'un poète refroidi puisse sur le tard devenir un bon philosophe. Pour se mêler de faire la grammaire et le dictionnaire d'un peuple, il faut en effet comprendre le mécanisme de l'entendement humain, et avoir étudié l'histoire de la langue dans l'histoire de la nation qui la parle. Ce n'est pas autrement qu'ont procédé les grands philosophes qui ont récemment perfectionné la grammaire française. Or non seulement Monti a négligé les données historiques du problème, mais encore il ignore totalement la grammaire générale et l'idéologie dont elle est une branche. La grammaire n'est que l'art de noter nos pensées; pour parler de grammaire, il faut donc connaître à fond l'histoire de la génération et du développement de nos idées: «En France, avant d'ouvrir la bouche sur ce sujet, il faut avoir lu Locke, Condillac, Maine-Biran, de Gerando et surtout la Grammaire générale de l'illustre comte de Tracy.» Par malheur, Monti semble ignorer jusqu'au nom de ces

tions: «Déguiser 152», «Déguiser dit Vis(mara)», «Déguiser 152». Cf. en effet *Rome, Naples et Florence en 1817*, p. 152: «Un homme qui écrit une lettre ouvre son dictionnaire, et un mot n'est jamais assez pompeux ni assez fort. De là, la naïveté, la simplicité, les nuances de naturel, sont choses inconnues en italien»; et *ibid.*, p. 153: «Alfieri lui-même a écrit dans une langue morte (pour lui); de là ses superlatifs, et il est venu fortifier l'enflure dont on a vu la cause.» Les fol. 57 verso [31 bis] et 58 [31 ter] renferment un développement ajouté après coup au premier jet.

derniers ouvrages: il en est resté à Condillac, à Dumarsais et à Beauzée, qui représentent l'état de la science il y a quarante ans; sans compter que le meilleur moyen de fermer la bouche aux pédants est encore d'introduire dans les discussions sur la langue la philosophie d'Adam Smith et de Tracy, à laquelle ils sont bien incapables de comprendre quoi que ce soit. Monti, malgré la modération qu'il a mise à ses critiques, va se voir vilipendé dans des ouvrages vides de pensée, mais débordants d'affectation. La *Proposta* sera néanmoins de la plus haute utilité: d'abord, le nom seul de son auteur la fera acheter par toute l'Italie, et elle remettra à la mode la question de la langue; ensuite, le recueil de mots sera nécessairement très supérieur aux prolégomènes, car on y saisira sur le vif le sens de la langue qui a guidé le poète dans ses œuvres. Monti a donc malgré tout rendu un éminent service à la littérature italienne; mais, s'il eût été moins timide, il eût hâté de dix ans peut-être la confection du vocabulaire italien, et contribué ainsi à l'unification nationale.²⁵

Beyle conclut enfin modestement son pamphlet par une *Péroraison*, dans laquelle il s'excusait d'oser intervenir, lui étranger et par conséquent barbare, dans une question de langue, et adressait un ardent hommage à l'Italie: «On pourra prouver que ce sont les idées d'un *Barbare*. On peut voir l'idée que j'en ai moi-même par le titre du pamphlet. Beaucoup de gens peut-être ont ces idées, mais les Pédants de Florence leur font peur, ils n'osent les exprimer. Un *Barbare* peut [...] Il me restera d'avoir rendu hommage à la terre du génie. Tous les étrangers l'adorent et j'aurai du moins sur mes rivaux l'avantage d'avoir osé lui-dire: *Oui je l'aime.*»²⁶

C'est alors apparemment que Beyle relut et corrigea son brouillon, divisa la *Giornata seconda* en une *Giornata seconda* et une *Giornata terza*, numérotait la troisième *Giornata* primitive, et, oubliant de numéroter la quatrième *Giornata* ainsi devenue la cinquième, n'en

²⁵ R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 67-75 (sans pagination originale), brouillon autographe, intitulé d'abord: «*Giornata ... ed ultima. Critique particulière*», puis: «*Giornata sesta ed ultima. Critique particulière*»; *Racine et Shakspeare*, II, 86-96. Le fol. 67 est daté en haut et à gauche: «3 mars», et porte en haut et à droite l'annotation: «Ne pas parler du Cte Per[icari]. 3 mars». Cf. ci-dessus, n. 13.

²⁶ R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 66 (sans pagination originale); *Racine et Shakspeare*, II, 103-4. Dans l'ébauche cette péroraison est barrée verticalement d'un trait de plume, confirmé par un «Non» en gros caractères; cependant, Beyle a écrit au milieu du feuillet, en caractères plus gros encore: «Tooock».

numérotait pas moins *sesta* la cinquième et dernière *Giornata* primitive.²⁷ Tel était donc, le 3 mars 1818, dans sa première ébauche, le *Petit mot d'un Barbare*: une quarantaine de pages manuscrites, dont l'auteur comptait tirer environ une feuille in-octavo. Dans les cinq premières *Giornate*, Beyle n'avait guère fait que reprendre ou développer des idées qu'il avait déjà exprimées soit dans la première édition soit dans les additions destinées à la seconde édition de *Rome, Naples et Florence*: c'est-à-dire en somme des idées qu'il avait empruntées aux *Avventure letterarie* de Borsieri ou recueillies à la Scala dans la société de Monsignor di Breme. Par contre, dans la sixième et dernière *Giornata*, il avait introduit une thèse qui élargissait notablement le problème: il soutenait, en se fondant sur la *Grammaire* de Tracy, que la question de la langue italienne n'était qu'un cas particulier d'une question plus générale, dont la solution n'était point à la portée des simples littérateurs, mais bien des philosophes et singulièrement des idéologues; et déjà il entrevoyait que c'était à ces derniers qu'il faudrait s'adresser pour la confection du dictionnaire dont dépendrait l'unité linguistique et par suite l'unité politique du pays. Mais, sur ce point, il n'osa se risquer sans l'avis d'un confrère en idéologie. Il glissa donc son brouillon dans une chemise, sur laquelle il inscrivit soigneusement la version italienne de son titre: *Cicalamento d'un Ignorante intorno al nuovo libro pubblicato dal Illustrissimo Cavalier V. Monti*,²⁸ il jeta sur un feuillet supplémentaire l'ébauche d'une *Proposition de la création d'un comité à Bologne pour la confection du dictionnaire*,²⁹ et il se rendit chez le Cavaliere Giuseppe Compagnoni, son compère, qui était alors fort occupé à traduire en italien les *Eléments d'idéologie* de Destutt de Tracy, et qui, avant même que Monti n'entreprit sa *Proposta*, avait ébauché de son côté quelques chapitres sur la question de la langue.³⁰

²⁷ Sur ce nouveau numérotage, cf. ci-dessus n. 17, 18, 19 et 25. C'est vraisemblablement au cours de cette révision que Beyle ajouta à la rédaction primitive les additions signalées ci-dessus, n. 19.

²⁸ R. 5896, t. II, fol. 122 (sans pagination originale); *Racine et Shakespeare*, II, 99.

²⁹ R. 5896, t. II, fol. 124 (sans pagination originale); *Racine et Shakespeare*, II, 100. La note en gros caractères: «Idée à soumettre à Vis[mar]a», que l'on trouve en haut et à gauche, semble avoir été ajoutée après coup.

³⁰ Cf. *Elementi d'ideologia del Conte Destutt de Tracy ... per la prima volta pubblicati in Italiano con Prefazione e Note del Cav. Compagnoni* (Milano: Giambattista Sonzogno, 1817-19). Le tome I, renfermant l'*Ideologia propriamente detta*; le tome II, renfermant la *Grammatica*; et le tome III, renfermant la *Logica*, parurent en 1817. En 1818, Compagnoni préparait les tomes IV et V, qui devaient renfermer le *Trattato della volontà e dei suoi effetti* (y compris le chapitre «De l'amour» inédit en France), et allaient paraître en 1819. Dès

Mais il ne le trouva point au logis, et il lui laissa tout le dossier après avoir griffonné sur la chemise quelques mots d'explication: «Io veniva a consultarvi d'intorno al Titolo, e sopra l'idea di far un comitato di nove dotti incaricandoli di far il Dizionario Italiano. Questa è un'idea di legislazione e la sottometto intieramente all'illustre traduttore di Jefferson. Des[tutt].»³¹

Le lendemain soir 4 mars, ayant sans doute entre temps réussi à voir Compagnoni, qui lui rendit son manuscrit et peut-être lui conseilla de consulter aussi Vismara,³² Beyle envoyait le début du *Cicalamento* à son copiste habituel, le signor Delbono, 2382 contrada Mervigli—celui-là même qu'il appelait parfois si barbarement Delgood.³³

1817, dans *Rome, Naples et Florence*, p. 326, Beyle avait discrètement signalé cette traduction; en février 1818, encore occupé de son *Napoléon*, il notait dans R. 5896, t. II, fol. 128 verso, une «Idée de Compagnoni»; et le 3 mars, dans sa *Giornata ... ed ultima*, il accrochait en note au nom de Tracy l'éloge de son traducteur: «Connu en Lombardie par l'excellente traduction que nous devons à M. le cav. Compagnoni, homme de lettres digne non pas de traduire, mais de composer des ouvrages originaux.» Par ailleurs, Compagnoni s'intéressait vivement à la langue, et avait entrepris sur cette question un ouvrage dont il devait publier en 1826 chez Stella un chapitre intitulé: *Capitolo CIII di un'opera incominciata a scriversi dal suo autore prima della Proposta del Cav. Monti: cf. Vivaldi, II, 432-33*. Dans une lettre du 2 janvier 1818 à Monti (*Epistolario*, V, 1), Lampredi faisait allusion à ses idées storte... sulla pretensione dei Toscani rispetto alla lingua». On comprend donc que Beyle ait eu hâte de lui soumettre son pamphlet.

³¹ R. 5896, t. II, fol. 123 verso, note autographe: *Racine et Shakespeare*, II, 99-100. Le fol. 123 est la deuxième moitié d'une double feuille in-folio, au filigrane de George Smidts, dont le fol. 122 est la première moitié. Cette double feuille servit d'abord de chemise au fol. 124, ainsi probablement qu'à l'ébauche du *Cicalamento*. Le tout constituait cette «Cosa portata al T[racy] il 3 marzo» à laquelle Beyle fera allusion le lendemain: cf. ci-dessous n. 34. N'ayant pas trouvé Compagnoni, Beyle retira, semble-t-il, le *Cicalamento* de la chemise, n'y laissant que la *Proposition* (fol. 124), puis plia et replia les trois feuillets en forme de lettre, ainsi, qu'en témoignent les plis correspondants encore visibles aux fol. 122, 123 et 124. Sur l'identité de l'«illustre traduttore di Jefferson», M. Martino écrit, II, 301: «Le traducteur de Jefferson ne semble pouvoir désigner que Vismara. Peut-être s'est-il agi d'un projet de traduction qui n'a pas eu de suite.» C'est oublier que Beyle désigne couramment Tracy sous le nom de Jefferson. Cf. notamment: à Mareste, Milan le 1^{er} décembre 1817, *Correspondance*, V, 83-84: «L'Amérique-Nord me semble un modèle parfait: voyez le *Commentaire sur Montesquieu* (par Jefferson): au même, Milan le 21 mars 1818, *ibid.*, p. 108: «Il ne manque au charmant Maisonnnette que de comprendre Jefferson (qu'il se garde bien de relire Montesquieu); et au même, Tramezzina le 24 octobre 1818, *ibid.*, p. 187: «Le *Commentaire sur Montesquieu* contient exactement mon *Credo politique*... Lorsque l'auteur me donna le livre, il me dit de n'en pas parler; c'est pourquoi je vous le dis de Jefferson.» C'est le 6 septembre 1817 que Beyle reçut de Tracy un exemplaire du *Commentaire*, apparemment accompagné de la recommandation ci-dessus. En fait, le *Commentaire* avait d'abord été communément attribué à Jefferson, et Tracy n'avait pas encore osé en revendiquer la paternité en 1817 à l'occasion de la réimpression de Liège: cf. lettre du 11 avril 1818 à Jefferson, citée par G. Chinard, *Jefferson et les idéologues* (Paris: Belles-Lettres, 1925), pp. 178-81.

³² Ainsi s'expliquerait l'annotation «Idée à soumettre à Vis[mara]» jetée par Beyle en gros caractères en haut du fol. 124.

³³ Cf. R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 27 [3], notes autographes; en tête: «Principiate la copia qui!»; au-dessous, à gauche: «Mandato il 4 marzo a sera».

Le jour même, il avait intitulé *Ultimo quaderno della cosa portata al T[racy] il 3 marzo* un nouveau dossier, dans lequel il se proposait apparemment de recueillir ses idées sur le dictionnaire, et il y avait noté une épigraphe et quelques pensées.³⁴ C'est alors probablement que, pour faire pendant à la *Giornata* consacrée aux dangers de la langue italienne, il entreprit, dans une nouvelle *Giornata*, l'examen des remèdes. Il faut d'abord, affirme-t-il, se convaincre qu'il y a urgence, et se mettre à l'œuvre. Il faut se moquer franchement des prétentions ridicules des Toscans. Il faut charger deux ou trois philosophes, têtes froides et raisonnables, d'établir un vocabulaire extrait de bonne foi des deux cents meilleurs écrivains italiens depuis Dante jusqu'à Spalanzani et Filangieri, et de composer une grammaire italienne qui soit un recueil de tournures. Pour le vocabulaire, Beyle cite en exemple le meilleur dictionnaire qui existe, le dictionnaire anglais de Johnson, dont il résume l'histoire d'après la *Life of Johnson* de Boswell.³⁵ Mais il s'avisa bientôt que toutes ces considérations philosophico-grammaticales pourraient sembler bien ennuyeuses, et il imagina d'en égayer la sévérité par quelques observations piquantes sur la polémique proprement romantique, qu'avait déclanchée en janvier 1816 l'article de Mme de Staël «Sulla maniera e la utilità delle traduzioni», et qui depuis lors n'avait cessé de faire rage à Milan. Monsignor di Breme venait justement de publier ses *Postille di Lodovico di Breme sull'Appendice ai Cenni critici sulla Poesia romantica del Signor C. G. Londonio*;³⁶ et Beyle jugea qu'il était grand temps de dire son mot sur cette affaire.

³⁴ R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 76 et 77 verso (sans pagination originale), notes autographes; *Racine et Shakespeare*, II, 301, 100-3. Au-dessous du titre *Ultimo quaderno della cosa portata al T. il 3 marzo*, Beyle a noté, sous la mention «Epigrafo del tutto» (et non «del lutto» comme l'imprime M. Martino, II, 100), et signé *Dque*, l'épigraphe attribuée dans R. 5896, t. II, fol. 122, aux *Lettere di Apostoli*. Le fol. 76 est la première moitié d'une double feuille in-folio, au filigrane de George Smidts, dont le fol. 77 est la seconde moitié. Cette double feuille a servi de chemise à l'*Ultimo quaderno*.

³⁵ R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 61 [35]-64 [36 ter], brouillon autographe, intitulé: «Giornata ... Remèdes»; *Racine et Shakespeare*, II, 69-72. Cette *Giornata* ne porte aucune indication de date et n'a pas été numérotée dans l'ébauche. Les fol. 63 [36 bis] et 64 [36 ter] renferment des additions à la rédaction primitive, ainsi que le fol. 65 [37], qui porte en haut et à gauche, au crayon, l'indication «Nel quaderno di mezzo», mais qui, sans doute envoyé après coup à Delbono, n'a pas été reproduit dans la copie; sur ce dernier feuillet, cf. *Racine et Shakespeare*, II, 295-96. De nombreuses notes marginales renvoient à la *Life of Johnson* de Boswell, notamment: fol. 62 [36], «Histoire de Johnson», «Life of J. xlii», «Johnson», «xxiv»; fol. 63 [36 bis], «Life xxiv», «xxv, 1745 1746, 28»; et fol. 64 [36 ter], «38».

³⁶ Cf. P. Martino, *Racine et Shakespeare*, Préface, I, lix-lx; et Lodovico di Breme, *Polemiche*, ed. C. Calcaterra (Torino: Unione tipografico-editrice torinese, 1923), p. 164, note de l'éditeur.

Sur la chemise de l'*Ultimo quaderno* du *Cicalamento*, il jeta donc, en italien, les premières lignes d'une note romantique, sans trop savoir encore à quelle page il l'accrocherait: «Nota alla pag. ... Come stampare qualche cosa di letterario a Milano senza far motto dell'aspra guerra che arde colà tra i *Romantici* ed i *Pedanti*? Oltre che nella loro orgogliosa difesa di tutto quello v'è d'antiquato comprendono anche ...»³⁷ Mais il se laissa emporter par sa verve, et la note eut bientôt pris des proportions démesurées.

Beyle y évoque d'abord, en un langage tout militaire, les deux armées en présence: d'un côté les classiques rangés sous la bannière de M. Dussault et du *Journal des débats*; et de l'autre les romantiques conduits par l'*Edinburgh review*, où se trouve exposée la véritable théorie romantique.³⁸ Il décoche au passage un brocard à Schlegel, sa bête noire, dont il renie sommairement l'autorité: «M. Schlegel, que beaucoup de gens en Lombardie prennent pour le chef des *romantiques*, est un homme plein de préjugés qui, parce qu'il a su bien traduire, s' imagine penser, et dont l'*Edinburgh Review* a tourné en ridicule les systèmes.» Il montre comment les Italiens devraient être du parti de Dante et de l'Arioste, et proclame romantiques la *Mascheroniana*, la *Basvighiana*, et les tragédies de Pindemonte. Il énumère les territoires occupés par les deux partis: «L'Allemagne, l'Angleterre et l'Espagne sont entièrement et pleinement *romantiques*. Il en est autrement de la France.» Il oppose l'un à l'autre les grands noms des deux systèmes: «La dispute est entre M. Dussault et l'*Edinburgh Review*, entre Racine et Shakspeare, entre Boileau et lord Byron.» Il souligne la gravité du conflit en prédisant les fatales conséquences qu'aurait pour les imitateurs de Racine la victoire de Shakspeare: «C'est un combat à mort. Racine met toujours en récit pompeux et emphatique ce que Shakspeare se borne à mettre sous nos yeux. Si le poète anglais l'emporte, Racine est enterré comme ennuyeux, et tous les petits tragiques français le suivent dans sa tombe.» Enfin, pour confondre les classiques

³⁷ R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 76, brouillon autographe; *Racine et Shakspeare*, II, 101. La suite manque: Beyle la détacha lui-même le 5 mars, comme il l'indique en marge. Sur le même feuillet, on peut relever, au-dessous du texte italien et en marge, l'ébauche d'un autre début: «Reposons-nous un instant des aspérités philosophiques de la grammaire en parlant de la guerre romantique et en parlant non pas avec impartialité, car tout mon cœur est pour un parti et les raisons de l'autre me semblent le chef-d'œuvre du ridicule.»

³⁸ Sur la découverte de l'*Edinburgh review* par Beyle, et sur son aversion pour Schlegel, cf. notre «Stendhal et Hazlitt», *Modern philology*, XXXV (1938), 383-89.

qui se prétendent incapables de supporter les brusques changements de lieux d'une *Macbeth*, il soutient que seules les mauvaises habitudes qui leur restent des poétiques de collège sont responsables de cette aversion, et il s'attaque hardiment au *palladium* du genre classique: les unités de temps et de lieu. Sur ce sujet, les arguments ne lui manquaient pas: Schlegel, Mme de Staël, Sismondi, tour à tour, avaient mis en doute l'autorité d'Aristote et de ses disciples; mais Beyle préféra remonter jusqu'à la source où ils avaient, les uns et les autres, puisé l'essentiel de leurs idées: la préface de Johnson aux *Plays of William Shakspeare*; et il se contenta de résumer ou de traduire. Il reproduit d'abord, tels que Johnson les a rapportés, les arguments des critiques classiques, qui fondent la nécessité d'observer les unités de temps et de lieu sur la prétendue nécessité de rendre le drame croyable. Il soutient ensuite contre eux, avec Johnson, qu'aucune représentation dramatique n'a jamais été prise pour la réalité: le spectateur n'oublie jamais qu'il est au théâtre et qu'il assiste à l'imitation d'une action et non pas à l'accomplissement d'une action véritable, et son imagination n'éprouve aucune peine, pendant les entr'actes, à passer d'un lieu à un autre ou d'un temps à un autre. Suivant toujours Johnson, il s'attaque ensuite à l'illusion dramatique, qui n'est jamais complète, quoi qu'en disent les classiques, et il montre que les imitations des arts font naître l'émotion non point parce qu'on les prend pour des réalités, mais parce qu'elles présentent vivement des réalités à l'âme: un drame lu affecte en effet de la même façon qu'un drame joué. «Il suit de là», conclut-il, «que l'on peut supposer qu'un plus ou moins long espace de temps s'écoule entre les actes: il suit encore de là que le spectateur d'un drame, quand il n'a pas été élevé dans un *collegio antiquato*, ne s'inquiète guère plus du lieu ou de la durée de l'action que le lecteur d'une narration, lequel, en deux heures de temps, lit fort bien toute une vie de Plutarque.» Enfin, il cite en exemple le *Christophe Colomb* de Lemercier, dont les trois actes montrent une suite d'actions se déroulant en des lieux et en des temps différents.³⁹

³⁹ Le manuscrit de cette note romantique ne s'est pas retrouvé; nous en conjecturons le premier état d'après le texte, sans doute fondé sur la copie Delbono, publié par Romain Colomb dans son édition de *Racine et Shakspeare* (Paris: Michel-Lévy, 1854), pp. 229-57, et reproduit par M. Martino, II, 10-22.

En se relisant, le 5 mars, Beyle s'aperçut qu'il avait dans ces quelques pages l'embryon d'un second pamphlet non plus linguistique mais littéraire, qui lui permettrait d'intervenir directement dans la polémique romantique. Aussi, renonçant à son projet primitif et sacrifiant le paragraphe destiné à accrocher au texte du *Cicalamento* cette note démesurée, amorça-t-il avec ce développement un autre dossier, comme en témoigne ce memorandum qu'il inscrivit, en homme d'ordre, au début du brouillon: «Je détache la suite de ce morceau qui finit par *Christophe Colomb*, le 5 mars 1818.»⁴⁰ Mais il lui manquait pour ce nouveau pamphlet un titre et une entrée en matière. Afin d'expliquer les idées étrangères qu'il introduisait dans la discussion, il imagina alors de se donner pour un prisonnier de guerre italien, qui, interné pendant de longues années en Angleterre, s'était durant sa captivité familiarisé avec la langue, la littérature et les doctrines anglaises, et pouvait ainsi aborder la question du romanticisme italien sur un ton mi-militaire et mi-philosophique.

Il essaya donc d'un premier titre: *Ragionamento d'un prigioniero di guerra in Inghilterra intorno alla guerra tra i Romantici ed i Classici*, et ébaucha un premier paragraphe d'introduction: «Anche noi all'udir del aspra guerra che arde in riva al nobilissimo fiume Olona, abbiamo ramentato, che viviamo in una inclita città che per tanti e tanti secoli ebbe il nobilissimo nome di *Dotta*. E consiachè ho meco medesimo divisato che se in accutezza di spirito poco si può aggiungere ai nobilissimi sforzi degli ingegni milanesi, almeno può esser non vil fatica a chi per effetto di sorte nemica parecchi anni della sua gioventù spese in Inghilterra, di aggiungere modestissimamente qualche parole di fatti alle ingegnossissimi speculazioni degli illustri ingegni dell'Olona.» Mais, peu satisfait sans doute du premier titre, il en jeta en marge un second, d'allure plus belliqueuse: *Riconoscenza militare sopra il campo di battaglia ove arde sì aspra guerra tra i Romantici ed i Classici*: et il amorça aussi, au bas de la page, un second début, *Altro principio*: «Dell'aspra guerra che sul nobilissimo fiume Olona fra i Romantici ed i Classici arde tuttora anche noi abbiamo sentito il fragore. Anche noi abbattatori di una città per tanti secoli conosciuta per soprannome di *Dotta*

⁴⁰ R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 76, note autographe.

volliamo in si nobile contesa dar segno ...»⁴¹ Cependant, il ne poussa pas plus loin cet *altro principio*; et, s'en tenant au premier début, qui expliquait plausiblement son intervention dans la querelle, il passa au premier chapitre, qu'il intitula «Qu'est-ce que le Romanticisme?», et qu'il enchaîna par une introduction où reparaissait l'image de la reconnaissance militaire: «Cosa è dunque quel romanticismo, intorno al quale tanti parlano, nella nostra Italia? In questa guerra, io ho diviso meco medesimo di fare una riconoscenza militare sopra la posizione delle due armate. Il pubblico Lombardo si trova a una delle ale della battaglia e forse non ha piena conoscenza di quel che si passa al centro.»⁴² Le raccord ainsi fait, il ne restait plus qu'à reprendre et développer la note romantique; mais d'autres soins en détournèrent Beyle pendant quelques jours.

Giuseppe Vismara, qu'il avait à son tour consulté sur sa *Proposition de la création d'un comité à Bologne pour la confection du dictionnaire*, approuva ce projet le 6 mars.⁴³ Le soir même, en rentrant de la *Sala del Ridotto*, où il venait d'entendre un concert de Canongia, Beyle collationna sur les 24 premières pages du brouillon la copie faite par Delbono du début du *Cicalamento*;⁴⁴ et le lendemain 7 mars il la corrigea jusqu'à la page 59.⁴⁵ Dès lors, il pouvait aller de l'avant; et, sans perdre un instant, il ébaucha, pour faire suite à la *Giornata* consacrée

⁴¹ R. 5806, t. V, fol. 178-178 verso, brouillons autographes; *Racine et Shakspeare*, II, 5-6.

⁴² *Racine et Shakspeare*, II, 10. Le manuscrit de ce paragraphe ne s'est pas retrouvé; mais ce texte italien se rattache beaucoup plus aisément aux deux projets de début cités plus haut qu'aux deux paragraphes d'introduction en français dont il est précédé dans la rédaction publiée par R. Colomb et reproduite par M. Martino, II, 9-10. Il est notable que la fiction du prisonnier de guerre qui, à son retour d'Angleterre, examine la situation littéraire milanaise, se poursuit dans la note 1, II, 30-31, où se sont encore glissés quelques mots d'italien.

⁴³ Cf. R. 5896, t. II, fol. 124, note au crayon sanguine: «Approuvé, le 6 mars 1818. V[ismara]». Cette note ne nous semble pas, en dépit de l'opinion contraire de Louis Royer, être de la main de Beyle.

⁴⁴ Cf. R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 77 verso, réflexions autographes intitulées: «Sortant d'entendre Canongia»; *Racine et Shakspeare*, II, 103. La date du concert de Canongia est indiquée par M. Martino, II, 292. Cf. R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 49 [24] verso, note autographe: «Collationné avec la première copie made by Delgood, le 6 mars 1818, après avoir entendu Canongia». Cette copie comprenait apparemment les quatre premières *giornate*, envoyées à Delbono le 4 mars au soir.

⁴⁵ Cf. Manuscrit Champlon, fol. 59, note autographe: «Corrigé le 7 mars 1818»; citée par M. Martino, «L'Ouvrage de grammaire de Stendhal», p. 118, n. 4.

aux dangers de la langue italienne, une nouvelle *Giornata* consacrée aux remèdes.⁴⁶

Fort de l'approbation de Compagnoni et de Vismara, il y soutient que le plus urgent serait la confection d'un vocabulaire et d'une grammaire. Mais quelles sont les qualités nécessaires au grammairien? Sur ce point, il ne put se dispenser de mettre à contribution les *Eléments d'idéologie*, et singulièrement la *Grammaire*, de Tracy. «La grammaire de la langue italienne», écrit-il sans vergogne, «c'est l'art de bien exprimer ses idées en italien. Or un art est la collection des maximes ou préceptes pratiques dont l'observation conduit à faire avec succès une chose quelconque, et une science consiste dans les vérités qui résultent de l'examen d'un sujet quelconque. Voilà pourquoi nous n'aurons réellement une bonne grammaire italienne que lorsque la science générale de l'expression des idées, la grammaire générale, sera perfectionnée parmi nous.»⁴⁷ Ce principe établi, il découpa dans la table analytique de l'*Idéologie* une série de formules sur les formes primitives du langage,⁴⁸ la propriété des signes, leur enrichissement progressif, le soutien qu'ils prêtent aux idées abstraites ou générales,⁴⁹ l'aide qu'ils apportent au raisonnement et à l'analyse: «A mesure que nous faisons de nouvelles combinaisons de nos idées, le nombre de nos signes augmente. Plus nos signes expriment des nuances délicates, plus nos

⁴⁶ R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 11-26 (sans pagination originale), brouillon autographe, intitulé: «Giornata ... Dei Rimedi»; *Racine et Shakespeare*, II, 73-86. Cette *giornata* devait peut-être se substituer à la précédente *giornata* consacrée aux remèdes (cf. ci-dessus n. 35), avec laquelle elle semble faire double emploi.

⁴⁷ R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 12-13. Beyle note en marge, au fol. 12: «Tr. 14. 2», et plus bas: «13». Nous lisons effectivement, dans les *Eléments d'idéologie, seconde partie, Grammaire* (Paris: Courcier, an XI-1803), pp. 12-13: «Un art est la collection des maximes ou préceptes pratiques dont l'observation conduit à faire avec succès une chose quelle qu'elle soit; et une science consiste dans les vérités qui résultent de l'examen d'un sujet quelconque. D'où il suit que nul art ne peut avoir des principes certains, que quand les vérités de la science, ou des sciences dont il émane, sont découvertes et bien prouvées. Ainsi, une grammaire particulière est un art; c'est l'art de bien exprimer ses idées dans un langage quelconque. Voilà pourquoi aucune ne peut être réellement bonne que la science générale de l'expression des idées, la Grammaire générale, ne soit perfectionnée.» Cette distinction entre un art et une science sera d'ailleurs reprise plus tard par Beyle.

⁴⁸ Cf. R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 13, un paragraphe emprunté presque textuellement aux *Eléments d'idéologie, première partie, Idéologie proprement dite* (Paris: Courcier, an XIII-1804), Table analytique, p. 452: «Le langage d'action est donc le langage ordinaire; il est composé de gestes, de cris, d'attouchements; il s'adresse à la vue, à l'ouïe, au tact.»

⁴⁹ Cf. R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 13-14, quatre paragraphes empruntés presque textuellement à l'*Idéologie*, p. 453, comme l'indiquent d'ailleurs deux renvois en marge: «2. 453».

analyses deviennent fines.⁵⁰ Les Toscans et les pédants à leur dévotion sont donc stupides, qui veulent nous faire exprimer toutes nos idées du XIX^e siècle avec les signes en usage au XIV^e.

Beyle avait déjà par ailleurs dit son sentiment à cet égard, et il ne crut pouvoir mieux faire que se répéter. Il emprunta donc à *Rome, Naples et Florence en 1817* l'exemple de la ridicule *Histoire d'Amérique* de M. Botta;⁵¹ et il transcrivit un long paragraphe du fragment sur la «Langue italienne» qu'il avait rédigé le 26 février pour la seconde édition de M. de Stendhal: «Les hommes qui peuplent la société sont ici plus fins, plus entraînés par une imagination enflammée qu'en France. S'ils avaient pu, de 1530 à 1770, être *naturels* en écrivant, la littérature italienne (en mettant toujours à part les ouvrages de génie qui partout font exception) l'emporterait sur les littératures française et anglaise, mais les pédants s'étant trouvés, par une combinaison fatale, les *maîtres de la littérature*, tout ce qui a écrit a été pédant. De là le manque presque total en italien de tournures vives, nobles, pittoresques pour exprimer les idées fines. De là l'impossibilité d'un style rapide et supprimant toutes les idées intermédiaires. De là le manque de goût qui porte les génies les plus nobles et les plus élevés à rendre leurs idées sensibles par des images révoltantes et basses.»⁵² Après quoi, avec son soin habituel, Beyle inscrivit *Toock* en marge du brouillon primitif; puis il revint à l'*Idéologie* et aux propriétés des signes: «Il est clair que nous devons aux signes toutes nos relations sociales et la possibilité de jouir de toutes les connaissances acquises par nos semblables.» Mais le difficile est de s'entendre: «En nous servant de tel signe, souvent nous nous abusons nous-même et nous n'entendons pas les autres.»⁵³ Le premier effet d'une bonne grammaire italienne, conclut Beyle à l'aide de la *Grammaire*, devrait donc être, en permettant aux diverses peuplades qui se partagent l'Italie de mieux comprendre

⁵⁰ R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 14; cf. *Idéologie*, p. 451: «Car il est bien évident que l'idée doit précéder le signe institué pour la représenter; mais qu'à mesure que nous faisons de nouvelles combinaisons de nos idées, le nombre de nos signes augmente, et que plus ils expriment de nuances délicates, plus nos analyses deviennent fines et parfaites.»

⁵¹ Cf. R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 14-15; et *Rome, Naples et Florence en 1817*, pp. 155-56, n. 2.

⁵² R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 15; cf. R. 5896, t. II, fol. 150-51, fragment d'abord destiné à la seconde édition de *Rome, Naples et Florence*, cité ci-dessus p. 174.

⁵³ Cf. R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 15, deux paragraphes empruntés presque textuellement à l'*Idéologie*, pp. 454-55, comme l'indique en marge le renvoi: «455». Beyle note en outre en marge: «Ici l'italien me semble indéchiffrable. 456, 457».

les signes, de rendre leurs disputes plus courtes et moins âpres, et par conséquent d'aider à l'unification de l'Italie. Mais les pédants italiens n'ont pas encore compris qu'avant de rendre compte de la composition des signes, il faut expliquer la composition des idées qu'ils représentent, et avoir exposé avec clarté le jeu des facultés intellectuelles qui concourent à la formation et à l'expression des idées.⁵⁴ A qui donc s'adresser pour avoir enfin un vocabulaire qui ne soit pas un ouvrage de parti, et une grammaire qui soit vraiment le recueil des tournures usitées en Italie pour exprimer chacun de nos sentiments?⁵⁵

A qui s'adresser? Mais aux étudiants des universités, aux jeunes militaires rentrés dans leurs foyers, aux employés de l'ancien Royaume d'Italie, qui dans leurs contacts avec les hommes ont contracté des habitudes de raison. La difficulté de l'entreprise, c'est qu'il n'y a pas en Italie de loi protégeant les droits des auteurs: il sera donc impossible d'organiser une entreprise comme celle de l'*English dictionary* de Johnson, compilé par un philosophe richement rémunéré par des libraires sûrs de faire un bon placement. D'autre part, l'Italie n'ayant pas de capitale nationale, une institution comme l'Académie française est irréalisable: les littérateurs des différentes villes se déchireraient entre eux, soutenus par le patriotisme d'antichambre. En désespoir de cause, Beyle propose donc la réunion à Bologne d'une commission comprenant un commissaire piémontais, un milanais, un vénitien, un bolonais, un génois, un romain, un florentin, un napolitain, un sicilien, assistés chacun d'un secrétaire et nommés pour cinq ans; et il explique dans le plus grand détail l'organisation et le fonctionnement de cette commission. «Cette idée», conclut-il, «n'est qu'un aperçu offert modestement au public. Les bonnes têtes, les Instituts, les diplomates pourraient facilement perfectionner infiniment ce projet qui met d'accord tous les amours-propres. Plus probablement encore, il ne sera pas exécuté, et notre belle langue languira faute d'un dictionnaire qui soit un ouvrage de raison et non de parti.»⁵⁶

⁵⁴ R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 15-19. Tout ce développement est un centon de la *Grammaire*, comme l'indiquent en marge les renvois: fol. 15: «2.11»; fol. 16: «2.4»; fol. 17: «2.2. After that, no more of T[racy]»; fol. 18: «2.2», «2.3»; et fol. 19: «2.3».

⁵⁵ R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 20: *Racine et Shakspeare*, II, 80.

⁵⁶ R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 26; *Racine et Shakspeare*, II, 86. L'ébauche autographe ne porte aucune date de composition; le texte imprimé est daté à la fin: «12 mars 1818»; mais c'est la date à laquelle Beyle a corrigé la copie Delbono, comme l'indique la note autographe

Cet exposé remplissait 16 pages de brouillon: Beyle le divisa donc en deux *giornate*, en séparant de la discussion idéologique le projet d'organisation pratique. Puis, le jour même, il envoya le tout à Delbono, en le priant de lui en faire une copie à part: «Fate una copia separata. 7 marzo 1818.»⁵⁷

En attendant, il se remit à son *Ragionamento*. Après avoir, dans son premier chapitre intitulé «Qu'est-ce que le Romanticisme?», dénombré les troupes et relevé les positions des deux partis; après avoir, dans son second chapitre «Des unités de temps et de lieu», battu en brèche avec le secours de Johnson les arguments classiques en faveur des règles, il lui restait à donner une idée claire de cette théorie romantique que, disait-il, les rédacteurs de l'*Edinburgh review* exposaient à mesure du besoin. Pour cela, il n'eut qu'à rouvrir au tome II son *Histoire de la peinture en Italie*, où il trouva sa propre adaptation de l'article qui, en septembre 1816, lui avait dessillé les yeux.⁵⁸ Il se mit aussitôt en devoir de la transcrire, avec quelques additions opportunes, en un troisième chapitre qu'il intitula «Histoire de la Poésie».⁵⁹ Pour les âmes des pédants, affirma-t-il d'abord, la mâle poésie de Shakspeare est physiquement insupportable: «Shakspeare, c'est-à-dire le héros de la poésie romantique, opposé à Racine, le Dieu des classiques; Shakspeare, dis-je, écrivait pour des âmes fortes, formées par les guerres civiles de la *Rose rouge* et de la *Rose blanche*.» Les cœurs anglais avaient alors la même rude énergie que les cœurs italiens au sortir du moyen âge; mais aujourd'hui les Italiens se laissent dicter leurs goûts par les pédants, qui n'ont jamais connu d'autres passions que la vanité littéraire. Heureusement la dernière révolution a secoué les âmes; et les gens qui ont fait les campagnes de l'Empire, ignorants en livres

suivante, R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 26 verso: «Corrigé la copie faite sur celle-ci, le 12 mars 1818»; cf. aussi Manuscrit Champion, fol. 84 et 86, notes autographes: «Corrigé le 12 mars 1818»; citées par M. Martino, «L'Ouvrage de grammaire de Stendhal», p. 118, n. 4.

⁵⁷ R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 20; *Racine et Shakspeare*, II, 80. Sur le brouillon, la division est marquée par un trait horizontal et le mot *Giornata* insérés entre deux paragraphes du développement primitif.

⁵⁸ Cf. *Histoire de la peinture en Italie*, par M.B.A.A. (Paris: Didot, 1817), II, 424-32; *Histoire de la peinture en Italie*, éd. P. Arbelet (Paris: Champion, 1924), II, 322-27. Cf. ci-dessus, n. 38.

⁵⁹ *Racine et Shakspeare*, II, 25-38. Le brouillon autographe presque complet de ce chapitre se trouve à la Bibliothèque de Grenoble, R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 122-23, 135-41, 120-21. Il commence aux mots: «d'Homère; pour de telles âmes, dis-je, la mâle poésie de Shakspeare...» Le début manque.

mais experts en actions et en émotions, vont prendre la direction de toutes choses: ce qui amènera nécessairement une évolution du goût.⁶⁰ Cette introduction achevée, il n'y avait plus qu'à copier, en l'accommodant à l'italienne, le texte de l'*Histoire de la peinture*: «Les jouissances que les Italiens demandent aux arts vont revenir sous nos yeux presque à ce qu'elles étaient chez nos belliqueux ancêtres, du temps de l'archevêque Visconti, lorsque Milan toucha à la couronne d'Italie, lorsqu'ils commencèrent à songer aux arts; vivant dans le danger, leurs passions étaient impétueuses, leur sympathie et leur sensibilité dures à émouvoir: leur poésie peint l'action de désirs violents. C'était ce qui les frappait dans la vie réelle, et rien de moins fort n'aurait pu faire impression sur des [naturels si rudes].»⁶¹

Ayant ainsi amplement amorcé son troisième chapitre, Beyle, le dimanche 8 mars, envoya son brouillon à Delbono.⁶² Puis, commençant aussitôt un nouveau dossier, qu'il intitula *Rom[anticismo]*. *Fine del quaderno mandato domenica*, il ébaucha deux notes destinées aux termes *abstraction du temps* et *illusion*, qu'il avait employés dans la discussion des unités,⁶³ et poursuivit son adaptation de l'*Histoire de la peinture*. «Fin du Rom[anticismo]», indiqua-t-il en haut de son feuillet: puis, au-dessous, il nota ses références: «2. 425»,⁶⁴ après quoi, il

⁶⁰ R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 122-23; *Racine et Shakespeare*, II, 25-26.

⁶¹ R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 123; *Racine et Shakespeare*, II, 27. Cf. *Histoire de la peinture en Italie*, par M.B.A.A., II, 424-25: «Les jouissances que l'homme demande aux arts vont revenir sous nos yeux, presque à ce qu'elles étaient chez nos belliqueux ancêtres. Lorsqu'ils commencèrent à songer aux arts, vivant dans le danger, leurs passions étaient impétueuses, leur sympathie et leur sensibilité dures à émouvoir. Leur poésie peint l'action des désirs violents. C'était ce qui les frappait dans la vie réelle, et rien de moins fort n'aurait pu faire impression sur des naturels si rudes.»

⁶² Ce brouillon constituait évidemment le *Quaderno mandato domenica* dont il est question dans la note citée ci-dessous, n. 63. En 1818, le 8 mars tombait un dimanche; et il ne saurait s'agir du dimanche 1^{er} mars, puisque à cette date Beyle n'avait pas encore commencé sa note romantique.

⁶³ R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 134, brouillon autographe. En haut et à gauche: «8 mars 1818»; au-dessous, en titre: «Rom. Fine del quaderno mandato domenica. 8 mars 1818»; plus bas, les deux notes destinées au chapitre des unités: à gauche: «Dans les pages précédentes mettre en note sous abstraction du temps (1): (1) C'est l'œil de l'imagination, dit Gray, qui à l'instant où il confie à la terre le germe naissant d'un jeune arbre, se place sous son feuillage et jouit de l'aspect qu'il doit offrir de tous les points d'où on l'aperçoit. L'abstraction du temps qui sépare les différentes jouissances de l'âme est donc le genre d'efforts le plus facile à l'imagination»; à droite: «Autre note sous illusion (1): (1) Ou déception, même en peinture la déception loin d'avancer l'art le fait rétrograder et la ramène à son enfance. J. Reynolds». Ces deux notes sont barrées diagonalement.

⁶⁴ R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 135 [1], brouillon autographe. Tout en haut du feuillet, Beyle a noté au crayon: «Fine dell'altro quaderno mandato domenica»; et plus bas, en marge: «Seguitate i numeri delle pagine che sono mal cucite».

transcrivit quelques paragraphes, en les illustrant d'exemples de l'évolution du goût par rapport aux transformations de la société. Il expliqua comment Racine avait travaillé pour un peuple déjà à demi étioilé par les mœurs cérémonieuses de la cour de Louis XIV, et s'éleva contre les pédants qui prétendent donner un tel écrivain comme modèle à toutes les nations.⁶⁵ Il fut ainsi conduit à formuler nettement sa théorie romantique: «Il faut que chaque peuple ait une littérature particulière et modelée sur son caractère particulier.»⁶⁶ Certes, il ne voulait point imposer Shakspeare à l'Italie: mais il soutenait que jusqu'au jour où l'Italie aurait enfin une tragédie vraiment nationale, il faudrait marcher sur les traces de Shakspeare et non sur celles de Racine.⁶⁷ Puis il revint à l'histoire des révolutions de la poésie, laquelle suit les divers caractères que prend la civilisation des sociétés. Il y a trente ans, les Italiens étaient étioilés par une longue paix; mais aujourd'hui les jeunes Milanais qui ont fait campagne avec Napoléon ne peuvent manquer d'exercer une influence sur les habitudes de la vie et sur les goûts littéraires. La littérature devra s'adapter à cette énergie nouvelle du public: «Notre caractère est devenu plus marqué, plus fort; il exigera donc des écrivains, avant de leur accorder de la gloire, qu'ils produisent des ouvrages qui ressemblent davantage au caractère national, et qui, par là, lui donnent des jouissances plus vives.»⁶⁸ Il est d'ailleurs aisé, ajoutait-il, de prévoir ce qui va se passer en Italie, en se rappelant ce qui est arrivé depuis une trentaine d'années en Angleterre. Sur cette ingénieuse transition, il reprit ouvertement sa traduction de l'*Edinburgh review*: depuis la Révolution française, la poésie anglaise est devenue plus enthousiaste, plus grave, plus passionnée; elle a pris pour héros des caractères énergiques et passionnés, qu'elle est allée chercher parmi les sauvages et les barbares, car chez nos contemporains les premières classes de la société sont souvent trop étioilées, et les classiques grecs ou latins n'offraient à cet égard rien à imiter. D'ailleurs il n'y avait guère plus de naturel à la cour d'Auguste qu'à celle de Louis XIV; or ce que réclame le public d'aujourd'hui, c'est une littérature faite pour le peuple et non une lit-

⁶⁵ R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 135 [1]–136 [2]; *Racine et Shakspeare*, II, 27–28.

⁶⁶ R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 136 [2]–137 [3]; *Racine et Shakspeare*, II, 28–29.

⁶⁷ R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 137 [3]–138 [4]; *Racine et Shakspeare*, II, 29–30.

⁶⁸ R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 137 [3] verso; *Racine et Shakspeare*, II, 30.

térature arrangée pour une cour: «Il est difficile que les antiroman-
tiques nous fassent longtemps illusion sur ce que cherche le dix-neu-
vième siècle. Une soif croissante d'émotions fortes est son vrai ca-
ractère: or, on ne peut m'émouvoir fortement qu'avec des choses qui
s'adressent à moi, Italien du dix-neuvième siècle, et non à un Romain
du siècle d'Auguste, ou à un Français de Louis XIV.»⁶⁹ Mais, en
évoquant les hommes de fer des siècles passés ou des pays sauvages, les
poètes anglais ne se sont pas contentés de peindre les grandes passions
par les vestiges gigantesques d'actions énergiques, car c'est l'analyse
de la passion elle-même dont nous avons soif aujourd'hui; et Beyle
concluait: «C'est donc très probablement par une peinture exacte et
enflammée du cœur humain que le dix-neuvième siècle se distinguera
de tout ce qui l'a précédé.»⁷⁰

Non sans suffisance, Beyle admettait que cette théorie pourrait pa-
raître obscure à la partie la plus âgée du public italien, qui sait par
cœur Virgile, Racine et Alfieri, mais ignore jusqu'au titre des pièces
de Shakspeare et de Schiller. Malgré tout, la vérité finirait par l'em-
porter, et l'on verrait un jour naître la véritable tragédie italienne,
dégagée des imitations classiques et inspirée des annales du moyen âge
italien, si riche en grands caractères. Ce jour-là, Racine et Shakspeare
se verraient également proscrits de la scène; mais on parviendrait à
peindre les âmes italiennes en s'inspirant du système de Shakspeare
et de Schiller. Enfin, Beyle résumait en quelques lignes l'essentiel de
sa doctrine: «Je le répète: la poésie romantique est celle de Shak-
speare, de Schiller et de lord Byron. Le combat à mort est entre le
système tragique de Racine et celui de Shakspeare. Les deux armées
ennemies sont les littérateurs français, conduits par M. Dussault, et
l'*Edinburgh Review*.» Et, pour conclure, il protestait hautement de sa
propre indépendance: «Le rédacteur du présent écrit, fidèle au *prin-
cipe romantique*, ne combat sous les étendards de personne; il dit
franchement sa propre pensée, sans s'inquiéter si elle blesse ou si elle
ne blesse pas.»⁷¹

⁶⁹ R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 139 [5]; *Racine et Shakspeare*, II, 32. La fin de la dernière phrase manque dans le brouillon.

⁷⁰ R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 140 [6]; *Racine et Shakspeare*, II, 34. En face de ce paragraphe, Beyle a noté en marge: «431 fin», marquant ainsi la fin de ses emprunts au chapitre CLXXXIV de l'*Histoire de la peinture en Italie*.

⁷¹ R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 140 [6]-141 [8]; *Racine et Shakspeare*, II, 34-36.

Le lundi 9 mars, Beyle envoya ce troisième chapitre à Delbono, en réclamant la copie pour le surlendemain: «Mandato il 9, per l'undici se si può», nota-t-il sur la chemise du dossier, à côté de l'adresse «Al Signor Delbono, Meravigli, N° 2382». ⁷² Il y avait joint deux autres extraits de l'*Histoire de la peinture*: dans l'un, il affirmait que l'Italie, qui avait eu plus d'époques brillantes qu'aucune autre nation, serait toujours l'une des premières sur la route de la gloire; ⁷³ l'autre était simplement la transcription du passage relatif au voyage d'Elphinstone au royaume de Caubul. ⁷⁴ De chacun de ces deux morceaux, qu'il ne savait sans doute encore où insérer, il réclama une copie à part. ⁷⁵

Le lendemain 10 mars, en attendant la copie de ces dernières pages du *Ragionamento*, il revint à son pamphlet linguistique. Dans un dossier, qu'il intitula d'abord *Sottise*, puis, plus explicitement, *Des périls de la langue italienne ou mémoire à un ami incertain dans ses idées sur la langue*, ⁷⁶ il réunit les copies déjà faites par Delbono des premières *giornate* du *Cicalamento*, qu'il avait collationnées le 6 et corrigées le 7 mars; bientôt il y ajoutait les copies des deux dernières *giornate*, qu'il avait envoyées à Delbono le 7 mars. Le 12 mars, il collationna et corrigea ces dernières copies; ⁷⁷ et le même jour il porta le tout—soit huit *giornate*—à son ami Vismara, pour le prier de lui en faire une traduction italienne. ⁷⁸

L'obligeant Vismara s'attela aussitôt à la besogne, avec plus de

⁷² R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 121 verso, note autographe. Cette feuille, qui a été pliée en deux verticalement, a évidemment servi de chemise au dossier envoyé le 9 mars à Delbono. Ce feuillet porte en outre, au crayon, la date: «9 Marzo».

⁷³ R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 120 verso-121; *Racine et Shakspeare*, II, 36-37. Beyle a lui-même inscrit à deux reprises, en tête et en marge de ce fragment, l'indication: «N° 1», au crayon.

⁷⁴ R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 121; *Racine et Shakspeare*, II, 37-38. Beyle a lui-même inscrit, au bas et en marge de ce fragment, l'indication: «N° 2», au crayon.

⁷⁵ R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 120, note autographe: «Fate una copia separata di ognuna di queste due pagine. 9 M[arzo]». Ces deux fragments sont tirés de l'*Histoire de la peinture en Italie*, par M.B.A.A., I, 2, et 64-65, n. 1; éd. P. Arbelet, I, 61-62, et 108-9, n. 2.

⁷⁶ Cf. page de titre du Manuscrit Champion, reproduite par M. Martino, II, face au titre. Beyle lui-même a daté ce feuillet, en haut et à droite: «10 mars 1818». Au-dessous du titre *Sottise*, moulé en caractères énormes, il a ajouté après coup, en caractères minuscules: «dans un étranger».

⁷⁷ Cf. R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 26 verso, note autographe à la fin de la *giornata* non numérotée relative à la confection du dictionnaire: «Corrigé la copie faite sur celle-ci, le 12 mars 1818»; et Manuscrit Champion, fol. 84 et 86, notes autographes: «Corrigé le 12 mars 1818»; citées par M. Martino, «L'Ouvrage de grammaire de Stendhal», p. 118, n. 4.

⁷⁸ Ce sont ces huit *giornate*, de la main du copiste Delbono, qui constituent le Manuscrit Champion, que M. Martino a reproduit, et qui porte à la fin de la dernière *giornata* la date du 12 mars 1818. Cette copie ne comprend pas la *Giornata sesta ed ultima*.

bonne volonté peut-être que de compétence; et le 15 il remettait à Beyle sa traduction, qui couvrait 38 pages in-folio.⁷⁹ L'auteur composa alors fièrement pour ce pamphlet une belle page de titre: en haut, en gros caractères, le titre nouveau: *Dei pericoli della lingua italiana*; au-dessous, une épigraphe de son cru: «E poi vero che corri qualche pericolo la lingua del Tasso e dell'Alfieri?—Si, giacchè la lingua del Tasso e dell'Alfieri non è la stessa»; et plus bas la date: «15 mars 1818».⁸⁰

Il restait encore à Beyle, dans un dossier intitulé *Grammaire. Fin de la sottise*,⁸¹ la copie de la *giornata* primitivement numérotée *sesta ed ultima*, où il reprochait à Monti de n'avoir pas osé prendre ouvertement parti contre les pédants.⁸² Il la relut le 21 mars, et, probablement pour conjurer la mauvaise humeur qu'il craignait de provoquer par ses critiques chez l'illustre poète, il composa un *Morceau chaud pour la fin*, dans lequel il rappelait à Milan le bonheur qu'elle avait de posséder en Monti un des deux seuls poètes du siècle, et exhortait l'auteur de la *Mascheroniana* et de la *Basvigliana* à ne pas se perdre dans les épines du langage, mais plutôt à composer encore des vers, ou même simplement à traduire: «Traduisez, ô grand poète! et malgré vous, en traduisant, vous serez encore original, sublime, magnifique, et nous dirons encore en parlant d'avance le langage de la postérité: Nous possédons dans nos murs l'homme qui a su égaler le Dante, l'Arioste et le Tasse.»⁸³ Il envoya sur le champ ce morceau à Delbono en le priant de lui en faire une copie à part, qu'il reçut le lendemain, corrigea, et inti-

⁷⁹ Cf. R. 5896, t. V, fol. 33-71 verso, d'une main inconnue; «L'Ouvrage de grammaire de Stendhal», pp. 123-56. Cette traduction, qui suit le Manuscrit Champion, est constituée par quatre cahiers numérotés respectivement 1, 2, 3 et 4, aux fol. 34, 44, 54 et 64. Le fol. 34 porte en outre, en haut et à droite, la date du 12 mars; et le fol. 71 verso la signature Vism[ara] et la date du 15 mars 1818.

⁸⁰ R. 5896, t. V, fol. 33, notes autographes. Au-dessous de la date, Beyle observe, pour son propre bénéfice: «Dans les sujets difficiles où l'attention est sujette à s'égarer, il faut écrire ses raisonnements, et les relire pour les corriger tous les ans».

⁸¹ R. 5896, t. V, fol. 75, notes autographes. Au-dessous du titre, Beyle a noté la date: «21 mars 1818», et indiqué une correction à faire au début de la traduction de Vismara: «Exprimer et non imprimer in the first phrase of the translation». Vismara avait en effet traduit «exprimer leurs idées» par «stampare le loro idee».

⁸² Cf. R. 5896, t. V, fol. 76-94, copie Delbono. Cf. ci-dessus, n. 25.

⁸³ R. 5896, t. IV, fol. 118-19, brouillon autographe; *Racine et Shakspeare*, II, 96-98. Dans l'angle supérieur gauche du fol. 118, Beyle a noté: «Fate una copia separata»; et il a répété au crayon au-dessous du titre: «Una copia separata». Au verso du fol. 119, il a inscrit l'adresse du copiste: «Signor Delbono. N° 2382, Meravigli», et répété au crayon: «Copia separata».

tula: «Compliment à Monti. Compliment pour la fin de l'ouvrage de grammaire. 22 mars 1818». En même temps, il indiqua à la fin de la copie Delbono de la *Giornata sesta ed ultima* l'endroit où devait se raccorder cet éloge propitiatoire: «There the compliment to the illustrious bard».⁸⁴

Les deux pamphlets—le linguistique et le romantique—en restèrent là. Certes, Beyle les fit circuler parmi ses amis milanais, qui ne se firent pas faute de les annoter; mais il ne les publia point; et le *Ragionamento* ne fut même jamais traduit en italien.⁸⁵ Peut-être l'auteur craignit-il de se risquer dans la question de la langue, qui devint bientôt trop exclusivement grammaticale pour son goût; quant à la polémique romantique entre Londonio et di Breme, Londonio venait d'y mettre fin dans sa *Poscritta* publiée le 15 mars.⁸⁶ Mais aussi d'autres soins allaient le distraire. C'est le 4 mars qu'il avait fait la connaissance de Métilde Dembowsky, et peut-être déjà commençait-il à se sentir tourmenté de cet amour qui allait bientôt occuper toute sa vie.⁸⁷ Une quinzaine de jours plus tard, le 21 mars, il avait rencontré, semble-t-il, le médecin Razori, l'un des conspirateurs de Mantoue, sorti la veille de prison: médecin, inventeur, poète, conversation étonnante, volonté de fer, figure usée mais superbe: bref, un grand homme.⁸⁸ A son contact, il s'était senti repris du désir d'achever la *Vie de Napoléon*, et il avait noté sur un des feuillets de son manuscrit: «C'est

⁸⁴ Racine et Shakespeare, II, 96. Ce *Compliment à Monti* a été publié pour la première fois par R. Colomb dans son édition de *Racine et Shakespeare*, pp. 258-59, vraisemblablement d'après la copie Delbono.

⁸⁵ M. Martino a relevé sur le Manuscrit Champion des annotations d'amis milanais à qui Beyle aurait fait lire son travail; cf. «L'Ouvrage de grammaire de Stendhal», pp. 127, n. 1, 128, n. 1, 130, n. 1, 131, n. 2, 132, n. 1, 138, n. 2, 144, n. 1, 147, n. 1, et 156, n. 1; d'autre part, R. Colomb, dans son édition de *Racine et Shakespeare*, a reproduit en note, p. 259, deux observations faites par un ami inconnu sur la copie du *Compliment à Monti*, ainsi qu'un fragment de lettre de la même main, p. 260, où l'on engage l'auteur à publier son pamphlet (cf. *Racine et Shakespeare*, II, 97, 98, 129); enfin, la page de titre du Manuscrit Champion porte, de la main de Beyle, l'observation: «Rendu by the aimable Silvio [Pellico] the 8 Sep(tem)bre 1818». De son côté, la copie Delbono du *Romanticismo* portait quelques remarques de la main d'un inconnu, qui ont été recueillies par R. Colomb, pp. 246 et 250, et reproduites par M. Martino, II, 27 et 31.

⁸⁶ Cf. *Racine et Shakespeare*, Préface, I, ix-ixi; et *Polemiche*, p. 164, note de l'éditeur.

⁸⁷ Cf. *Histoire de la peinture en Italie*, par M.B.A.A., exemplaire Doucet, I, notes autographes sur les feuillets blancs de la fin, fol. 6; *Mélanges intimes et marginalia*, éd. H. Martineau (Paris: Divan, 1936), I, 346: «1818.—4 mars. Visite à M[étilde] qui me plaît.—9 mars. I am weary.—12 mars. Dangers of loving advantages de for[tune].—15 mars. M[étilde] joue Othello».

⁸⁸ Cf. A. Mareste, Grenoble le 14 avril 1818, *Correspondance*, V, 135-36.

un devoir pour nous qui avons connu ce grand homme d'en laisser un portrait à la postérité afin que les Hume futurs ne puissent mentir (after seeing a great man the 21 march 1818).⁸⁹ Enfin, vers les premiers jours d'avril, il partit pour Grenoble, où le rappelait le procès de sa sœur Pauline Périer-Lagrange, et où il arriva vers le 9 après s'être attardé quelques jours à Turin; il n'en devait repartir que le 5 mai et ne rentra que le 11 à Milan.⁹⁰ D'autres projets l'absorbèrent dès son retour. Le 22 mai, après avoir lu le tome XVI de l'*Histoire des républiques italiennes du moyen âge*, de Sismondi, il ébauchait pour la seconde édition de *Rome, Naples et Florence* de longues observations sur la liberté civile et la liberté politique.⁹¹ Le 13 juin, après avoir lu avec fureur les *Considérations sur la révolution française*, de Mme de Staël, il reprenait sa *Vie de Napoléon* pour venger son grand homme des calomnies de cette femme exécration;⁹² et il y travaillait constamment jusque vers le milieu du mois d'août.⁹³ La polémique romantique fut oubliée, du moins pour un temps.

Assurément, s'il les eût imprimés, l'ouvrage de grammaire et le plaidoyer romantique n'auraient guère ajouté à la renommée de leur auteur. Le premier est un centon d'idées empruntées à la société de Monsignor di Breme, au *Rome, Naples et Florence* de M. de Stendhal, à la *Life of Johnson* de Boswell, à l'*Idéologie* et à la *Grammaire* de Tracy; le second est un centon d'idées empruntées à l'*Edinburgh re-*

⁸⁹ R. 292 registre, t. II, fol. B; *Napoléon*, I, 356.

⁹⁰ Cf. A Mareste, Grenoble le 9 avril 1818, *Correspondance*, V, 122: «Je vous écris au débotté». Il avait d'abord espéré repartir pour Milan vers le 30 avril: cf. au même, Grenoble le 14 avril 1818, *ibid.*, p. 138; mais le 1^{er} mai il écrivait à Mareste, *ibid.*, p. 151: «Je pars peut-être le 4»; effectivement, le 4 mai il écrivait à Mareste, *Table alphabétique des noms cités*, éd. H. Martineau (Paris: Divan, 1937), I, 146: «Enfin, je pars demain 5»; cf. aussi au même, [Grenoble le 4 mai 1818], *Correspondance*, I, 98: «Ce 4 au soir, je viens de faire toutes mes visites de départ ... Adieu, je suis charmé de me trouver demain dans un pays où tout me sera indifférent.» Ce dernier fragment a été publié par l'éditeur de la *Correspondance* dans une lettre datée de Milan le 3 janvier 1818, à la suite d'une postscriptum daté du 5 janvier: il est manifeste que c'est la fin de la lettre du 4 mai publiée dans la *Table alphabétique*, I, 143-50. Quant à l'arrivée de Beyle à Milan, elle est signalée à la date du 11 mai dans la *Gazzetta di Milano*: cf. P. Martino, «Notes stendhalienues», p. 120.

⁹¹ Cf. R. 5896, t. II, fol. 154-57, brouillon autographe, daté: «22 mai 1818», et intitulé: «For St[endhal]»; et R. 292 carton, fol. non numérotés.

⁹² Cf. R. 292 registre, t. II, fol. 1, note autographe; *Napoléon*, I, 427: «Abandonné le 12 janvier 1818 pour raison de santé. Repris pour le style ce qui suit, le 13 juin 1818. Je voulais abandonner The Life; Mme de Staël me met en colère. Je vais probablement compléter et corriger le style.»

⁹³ Cf. R. 292 registres, t. I et II; *Napoléon*, I. Les dernières annotations semblent être celles du 17 août.

view, à la préface de Johnson aux *Plays of William Shakspeare*, et à l'*Histoire de la peinture en Italie* de M.B.A.A. Mais à ces matériaux hétéroclites Beyle a imposé une réelle cohérence en leur donnant pour base et pour armature son propre système, le beylisme, dont il avait dès 1806 arrêté les grands principes. Que dans le beylisme on retrouve des idées de Chateaubriand, d'Helvétius, de Vauvenargues, de Lancelin, de Hobbes, de Maine-Biran, de Cabanis, de Pinel, de Tracy, peu importe: Beyle a assimilé ces apports étrangers, et, de ce qui était encore une compilation en 1806, l'expérience a fait en quelques années une doctrine vivante et vigoureuse. Cette doctrine, Beyle l'a exposée, à bâtons rompus, en 1814 dans les *Lettres écrites de Vienne*, en 1817 dans l'*Histoire de la peinture* et dans *Rome, Naples et Florence*, sans soupçonner qu'elle pût être romantique, puisque le romantique, pour lui, c'était encore Schlegel et le sens intérieur. Pour la première fois, en 1818, il s'aperçoit que le beylisme s'accorde avec un autre romantisme—celui de l'*Edinburgh review* et des jeunes libéraux milanais—et il se déclare hautement romantique: *Racine et Shakspeare* est déjà en germe dans le *Cicalamento* et surtout dans le *Raggionamento*. Mais ces deux pamphlets avortés ont aussi un autre mérite: ils sont les premières lettres de naturalisation d'*Enrico Beyle, Milanese*.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ARTICLE

HARBAGE'S ANNALS OF ENGLISH DRAMA, 975-1700

THE *Annals of English drama, 975-1700*¹ by Alfred Harbage has found and will continue to find many users—cataloguers and buyers of books, scholars in many fields, and casual readers interested in the drama; accordingly, it is an important reference work. In seventy-five double-page spreads of seven columns the author has listed chronologically (by centuries from 975 to 1494 and yearly thereafter until 1700, with addenda for the 1570's and 1590's) as many "plays, masks, and other dramatic or quasi-dramatic representations devised in England, or by Englishmen abroad" as he has record of. And his records are remarkably complete. For each of the works so listed he gives seven items of information: the author (indicating collaboration and the consensus concerning false and acceptable attributions), the title (together with some variants), the limits of date, the dramatic genre, the first performers, the date of the first edition and an indication of the survival of a manuscript, and the date of the latest modern edition, with symbols referring to some of the standard collections of plays. Supplementing this principal list are two others of plays surviving and lost of uncertain date and identity; indexes of playwrights, of English plays, of foreign plays, and of dramatic companies; a descriptive list of theaters; and a catalogue of extant play manuscripts. The great variety of uses of such a compendium is readily apparent to the many students who have frequently looked in vain for a work of this kind. Henceforth, such students will as frequently thank the author.

But they will also disagree with him, deploring the limitations of the method, condemning many of his decisions, and denouncing his carelessness. In the first place, certain insurmountable difficulties of the method may lead to quarrels and confusion. For example, committed to entering each play under a single year, the author must rush in with a date where more angelic scholars can fall back on *termini a quo* and *ad quem*. Thus, when there is no more evidence of their date than that they were written between 1625 (perhaps) and 1642, he bravely assigns Ford's *Beauty in a trance*² and *The royal combat* to 1638; similarly, to Rowley's *A new wonder* he gives the limits

¹ *Annals of English drama, 975-1700: an analytical record of all plays, extant or lost, chronologically arranged and indexed by authors, titles, dramatic companies, etc.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press (published in co-operation with the Modern Language Association of America); London: Oxford University Press, 1940. Pp. viii + 264.

² Now dated 1630; see James G. McManaway's review of Harbage's book in *MLQ*, II (1941), 143.

"c. 1607-c. 1625" and yet lists it under 1609; and *The birth of Merlin*, with limits of "1597-1621," he lists under 1608. Another example is his treatment of Gosson's two plays; these were written, according to Gosson himself, at least two years before he forsook the stage (Chambers, *The Elizabethan stage*, III, 323); thus they can be dated 1576 or 1577. Yet Harbage, giving them both limits of 1576-79, puts *Praise at parting* under 1577 and *Captain Mario* under 1578. Even in less extreme cases one of the results of such enforced arbitrariness is to lessen an important use of the book: the reader collecting, say, the dramatic productions of the year 1620, even though directed to the possibility that some of the plays listed under that year may be excluded, cannot easily find the possibly far greater number of plays, not listed under that year, which might equally well be included in his reading list. And what seems to be a more frightening result is that, no matter how vigorously Harbage protests, future students, finding no evidence whatsoever in support of one of these arbitrary dates, will offer as conclusively established any date which they can introduce with the magic formula "Harbage dates. . . ."

Similar dangers attend the other listings, most notably those of the authors of the plays and the genres to which the plays belong, since the method does not admit of sufficient qualifications for border-line and debatable cases.³ Here, again, because a work of reference when it classifies arbitrarily has the effect of making such classifications standard, the author must go out of his way to avoid standardization when the evidence is tenuous, doubtful, or, as frequently appears when one tries to verify many of the entries in this book, simply nonexistent.

In addition to such faults inherent in the method, there are others arising from certain decisions of the author. Thus one would be better pleased if the author had paid less heed to the disintegrators of Beaumont and Fletcher; we find recorded almost every name ever suggested as detracting from the artistry of those two geniuses. He might also have found some way of indicating that a single author wrote *The abdicated prince* and *The bloody duke* (both of 1690) and that one author probably wrote *Band, cuff, and ruff* and *Work for cutlers* (1615). Nor can the reader be sure of the exact significance of the author entry when, for example, the writer of *The wandering lover* (1658), designated as "T.M." on the title-page of the first edition, is entered as "Thomas Meriton," and the author of *Orgula* (of the same year) is entered as "[Leonard] Willan." As for the treatment of titles, one would like to find more of the subtitles and variants so frequent in early drama;⁴ fewer awkward

³ E.g., I should list *Christmas comes but once a year* (1602) as a "Christmas Show (?)" or at any rate as a "Comedy (?)" (cf. Arthur Melville Clark, *Thomas Heywood, playwright and miscellanist* [Oxford, 1931], p. 35) and *The fairy knight* (1624) as a "Masque (?)" (cf. M. Joan Sargeant, *John Ford* [Oxford, 1935], p. 18).

⁴ E.g., *The nature of the four elements* (1517); *Pater filius et vxor* (1530, *The prodigal son*); *Temperance* (1530, *Temperance and humility*); *Somebody, Avarice, Minister, and Verity* (1550); *Alexander, Campaspe, and Diogenes* (1584); *I Troilus and Cressida* (1599; cf. Chambers, IV, 51); *Crede quod habes, et habes* (1624, *The city nightcap*); *Covent Garden*

inversions, such as "Truth, Triumphs of"; a more liberal use of "The," "A," and "An" when they are parts of the title; and more consistently modernized and accurate spelling.⁵ And the entry of a play of two parts as "I & II" on a single line suggests that but one play is in question (cf. Medwall's *Nature* [1495] and Heywood's *The iron age* [1612]).

In the third of the seven columns of the "Chronology," Harbage has listed the dates to be considered as limits. Here, as in other columns where he records conjectural dates, he has a tendency to deviate a year or so from the dates given by such standard works as *The medieval stage*, *The Elizabethan stage*, and Greg's *Bibliography*. And when, as sometimes happens, not only the month but even the day of Henslowe's payments or of his productions are available, it seems a shame that Harbage did not consistently include them in this column (cf., e.g., 1598 and 1600, under which most of the plays for the Admiral's company are listed merely as of those years, and also 1597, where the more specific dates are given). Nor has the author always given the available licensing date.⁶

Further, in listing the entire known production of the English stage to 1700 under "Type," Harbage set himself a difficult and thankless task. Had he gone about it with greater consistency and more clearly defined standards, he might have won greater appreciation for his efforts.⁷ In this column, also, Harbage sometimes records the fact that a show was produced for a wedding (cf. Campion's *The lords' masque*, pp. 84-85) and sometimes not (cf. Daniel's *Hymen's triumph*, *ibid.*); and, though this column would seem to be the proper place to record the fact that we have only a description of a masque or entertainment (cf. Taylor's *Heaven's blessing and earth's joy*, *ibid.*), we sometimes find such information in the first column (cf. *The marriage of Frederick and Elizabeth*, p. 84) and sometimes in the sixth column (cf. *Squire's mask*,

vee'ded, as on the general title-page and in the running head of the octavo of 1659 (1632); *Trappolin creduto principe* (1633); *Love's trial* (1636, *The Hollander*); *A Parliament outcry* (1649, *New Market fair*); and *The chaste lady* (1661, *Erminia*). Some of these alternate titles are recorded in the index.

⁵ For Cambyases (1561; p. 185) read Cambises; for Spiritia (1564, Jeffere; p. 242) read Spiritata; for Dixi (1585; p. 237) read Dixie; for Hoe (1605, Chapman *et al.* and Dekker *et al.*; pp. 194, 216) read Ho; for Fleire (1606) and Fleir (p. 198) read Floor; for Travails (1607, Day *et al.*; p. 231) read Travels; for Marriage (1619, Holiday; p. 229) read Marriages; for Astols [f?]o (1624, Dekker) read Astols[f?]o; for Necromantes (1632) read Necromantes; for Trapolin (1633; p. 231) read Trappolin; for Favourite (1637, Carlell) read Favorite.

⁶ From W. J. Lawrence, *TLS*, November 29, 1923, p. 820, he might have given the licensing dates of *Osmund, the great Turk* (September 6, 1622), *The Spanish gypsy* (July 9, 1623), *Amyntas* (November 26, 1630), *The muses' looking glass* (November 25, 1630), and *The Hollander* (March 12, 1635/6). And from J. Q. Adams, *The dramatic records of Sir Henry Herbert*, he might have given *The city nightcap* (October 14, 1624).

⁷ Betterton's *King Henry IV with the humors of Sir John Falstaff* is called a "Stage version Shakespeare" (p. 157) and on the same page Cibber's *Richard III.* an "Adapt. Shakespeare." Similarly, whereas *The knight of the burning pestle* is a "Comedy" (p. 79), *The old wife's tale* becomes a "Burlesque Romance" (p. 51).

pp. 84-85). Harbage also might have warned his readers of the meaning of the quotation marks surrounding the designation of the genre of a play (cf. p. 83: "Tragi-comedy"), since their meaning might be confused with that of the quotation marks surrounding the name of an author—that a contemporary attribution has been called into question.

Of the entries in the fifth column ("Auspices"), I have little to say except that Harbage sometimes uses question marks too sparingly and sometimes too liberally and that he does not always give the information available that a play was "Offered for Acting."⁸ As for the dates of the first editions, some observations must be made. First, according to the method set forth in the introduction, "an asterisk after the date means that the first is the only edition or issue." Such a record could be especially valuable; but when a second issue varies only in slight detail from the first or when no copy survives of a second edition (as with *The Elvetham entertainment* and *The Cowdray entertainment*), the omission of the asterisk is misleading. The second warning is that plays published in collections with a general title-page bearing a date a year later than that appearing on the individual title-page of the play are given the later date.⁹ A third warning is that Harbage's dates and asterisks are not always accurate and that they depart unnecessarily from standard scholarly opinion.¹⁰ Further, the author has not made note of the fragmentary nature of all the manuscripts and of all the unique copies of the first editions.¹¹ And he does not always record the fact that some of the editions are known by

⁸ Cf. Harbage's introduction, p. 5. The title-pages, as recorded by Greg, give this information for the following plays: *Jacob and Esau* (1554), *New Custom*, *The trial of treasure*, *Like will to like*, *The tide tarrieth no man*; as recorded by F. H. Ristine (*English tragicomedy* [New York, 1910]), *Mercurius Britannicus* (both versions).

⁹ At least such is the case with Brome's *The lovesick court*, *The wedding of Covent Garden*, and *The new academy*—all of which have separate title-pages, dated 1658, but are dated by Harbage 1659, the date of the general title-page of *Five new plays*—and with Shirley's *The brothers*, *The sisters*, *The doubtful heir*, *The imposture*, and *The cardinal* (separate title-pages, 1652; Harbage, following the general title-page of *Six new plays*, 1653).

¹⁰ Among the entries in which Harbage departs unnecessarily from Greg in dating the first editions are those for *The four elements*; *The four p's*; *Andria* (1520); *Calisto and Melebea*; *I and II Gentleness and nobility*; *The prodigal son* (1530); *Temperance and humility*; *Love* (1533); *Thersites*; *Albion Knight*; *Somebody*, *Avarice*, and *Minister*; *Ralph Roister Doister*; *Wealth and Health*; *Cambises*; *Minds*; *Jack Strav*. He departs from the STC in dating *Baptistes* (1541). And the first edition of the first four acts of *Horace* (1667) was published in 1667.

As for the asterisks, I can find no record of second early editions of *The King of Denmark's welcome* and *The parliament of bees*; asterisks should follow the dates given. On the other hand, the dates given for the following plays should not be starred: *Cynthia's revenge* (cf. Greg, Nos. 314, 47), *Love crowns the end* (cf. Ristine, p. 217), *Brennoralt*, reprinted in at least three editions of the *Fragmenta aurea* (1646; 1648; 1658) and in the *Works* of 1696 (with a separate title-page, dated 1694).

¹¹ E.g., the manuscripts of *Wit and science* (1539), *Misogonus*, *The parliament of love*, and the plot which only probably belongs to the *Troilus and Cressida* of 1599 and the fragmentary, unique copies of the first editions of *The four elements*, *Ralph Roister Doister*, *The cruel debtor*, and *Campbell*.

report only or that some earlier editions than the one recorded may well have been printed.¹²

The last column of the "Chronology" gives the date of the latest modern edition of the play. Since the data given here are quickly superseded, despite the fact that I have noticed several errors,¹³ I have not checked these dates thoroughly. In this column the notation (A) (meaning that the play is reprinted in anthologies) ought to be helpful indeed to librarians and students of the drama in finding reprints; but, unfortunately, the author has not so designated the plays in at least two of the standard anthologies: Manly's *Specimens* and *Plays of the restoration and eighteenth century* edited by Mac-Millan and Jones. Occasionally, also, the valuable notation (B) (indicating an edition in Bang's *Materialien*) is omitted (e.g., Ford's *The lady's trial*).

Of other failings three more general warnings must be made. First, the simple truth is that the author does not know how to alphabetize. Hardly a page of "The index of English plays" is free from error in alphabetical order; I have counted over one hundred and seventy such errors in this index running to sixty pages, double column. The same fault appears in the other indexes; and a grievous one it is in a reference book. Second, the book was not carefully proofread. Third, in identifying dramatists in the index of playwrights, Harbage has tried to indicate their professions. Such identification is often misleading or unnecessary. Thus Webster and Ford are playwrights; Waller, a politician; Sidney, a poet; Shakespeare, an actor; Gould, an "Upper Servant"; and Beaumont, a "Gentleman-Playwright."

To give readers specific instances of the kinds of entries in *Annals of English drama, 975-1700* to which I take exception and especially to afford them corrections which they may want to make in their copies, I have prepared a list of comments on some of the entries and have summarized the shortcomings I find in the treatment of Shirley.

A

In the notes which follow I have tried to offer corrections of errors, and I have suggested additional information which I consider necessary to a work of this sort and which is always consistent with some practice illustrated somewhere in the book. For simplicity in presenting evidence, I have cited only a few standard works, even though other works might have been listed; a citation from Chambers, then, does not mean necessarily that the idea in

¹² Of the first sort are the 1612 edition of *Epicene* (cf. Greg, No. 304) and the editions of *The bloody banquet* earlier than 1639 (see G. W. Cole, "Bibliographical ghosts," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XIII [1919], 108-12). Of the second are the first editions (conjectured and lost) of *Gammer Gurton's needle* and *Ralph Roister Doister*, the 1579 edition of *The marriage between wit and wisdom* (cf. Chambers, III, 437), and the 1593 edition of *Edward II*; and since *The prisoner[s]* of 1640 may survive in Killigrew's play, ought we not to question the designation "Lost"?

¹³ E.g., the edition of Fulwell's *Like will to like* in the "Tudor facsimile texts" (1909) is not recorded.

question originated with him or even that he accepts it. And in referring to the individual entries, I have given date, author, and title, not to approve or disapprove of Harbage's date, attribution of authorship, or form of title, but to facilitate reference.¹⁴

FIFTEENTH CENTURY ANON., *The Shrewsbury fragments. The incredulity of Thomas* is not a play at all but merely the end of the *Peregrini* (cf. Manly, I, xxxvii, n. 2).

1520 HEYWOOD, *The four p's*. Manly dated the play about 1525.

1537 UDALL, *Thersites*. Omit question mark after the author's name.

1553 STEVENSON, *Gammer Gurton's needle*. If John Bridges is mentioned at all, he should be listed as a possible author, not as a reviser.

1560 RICHARDS (?) or JOHNSON (?), *Misogonus*. (1) The first name of the Johnson here involved is Laurence. (2) Add "ca. 1577" to the parenthesis (cf. Chambers, IV, 31 f.).

1565 EDWARDS, *Damon and Pithias*. (1) "Edwards" is so spelled on the title-page of the early editions and, incidentally, by Greg (No. 58). (2) Durand's date of Christmas, 1564, is perfectly satisfactory (*JEGP*, IV [1902], 348 ff.).

1566 GASCOIGNE and KINWELMERSHE, *Jocasta*. Kinwelmershe's first name was Francis, not "Ja."

1569 GARTER, *The most virtuous and godly Susanna*. The terminus 1568 is misleading: all we have to go on is the entry in the Stationers' records, which is clearly 1569; Harbage probably reasoned that the play must have been written previously. For an early terminus, however, 1563 would have had more meaning, there being an entry (though not clearly to this play) in that year (cf. Greg, No. 76.5).

1575 GASCOIGNE (?) and LEE (?), *The Queen's entertainment at Woodstock (Hemetes, etc.)*. This entry, though it deals with a puzzling collection, could be much clearer and far more accurate. The entertainment included the tale of Hemetes (so spelled in Pollard's reprint but as "Hermetes" by Greg, No. 88, collation and n. 3); this tale was certainly not written by Gascoigne (as Harbage's listing implies; cf. also p. 255); Gascoigne did, however, translate it into Latin, French, and Italian. The Latin version was printed in 1579, along with Abraham Fleming's translation of the tract in praise of baldness by Synesius, *A paradox*. Though Greg does not list this tale as a play, it comes within the scope of Harbage's work. But, as it was reprinted in the edition of 1585 (Greg, No. 88), no asterisk should follow the first date, 1579. Besides the tale, there is a fragmentary description of the welcome of

¹⁴ I have included few notes on the manuscripts listed; Mr. James G. McManaway included in his review of Harbage's book a number of valuable additions and corrections (cf. *MLQ*, II [1941], 141-43).

the Queen and an account of the banquet; nor are these by Gascoigne. Following this is the comedy, not lost, as Harbage asserts, but preserved intact in the unique copy of the edition of 1585; since this edition is the only early edition of the play, this date ought to have an asterisk. The play may have been written by Gascoigne, but there is no evidence at all that Lee was the author of any extant part of the tale, the description, or the play.

- 1576 "H. N.," *Minds*. According to Greg (No. 64), "H N" of the title-page and head-title refers to Hendrik Niclas.
- 1579 FRAUNCE, *Victoria*. (1) Fraunce did not leave Cambridge before 1583, and the play probably belongs to the later part of his career there (cf. G. C. Moore Smith's edition in the fourteenth volume of Bang's *Materialien*, p. ix; Chambers, III, 316). Chambers dates the play between 1580 and 1583. (2) He calls the play "an adaptation of *Il Fedele* (1575) by Luigi Pasqualigo." (3) Moore Smith found no evidence that the play was acted (p. ix).
- 1579 MERBURY, *The marriage between wit and wisdom*. Identical with *The marriage of mind and measure* (cf. Chambers, III, 437)?
- 1579 WILSON, *Short and sweet*. Identical with *Cataline's conspiracy* (cf. Chambers, III, 516)?
- 1581 NEWTON, *Thebais*. Extend limits back ten years: possibly entered in the Stationers' records in 1571 (cf. Greg, No. 79). In any case, record 1581 as the date of publication.
- 1584 LYLY, *Campaspe*. There is no reason for not accepting as limits Chambers' well-reasoned dating, 1584 (III, 414), or his suggestion that the company was a combination of the Children of Paul's and the Chapel.
- 1586 NASHE, and ANOTHER, *Terminus et non terminus*. Quote Nashe's name (cf. Chambers, III, 453).
- 1590 PEELE, *The old wive's tale*. Both 1588 (of "Limits") and 1590 are too early; Peele seems to have borrowed from Greene's *Orlando furioso* of 1591 (cf. Chambers, III, 461).
- 1590 ADDENDA. ANON., *Like unto like*. Possibly identical with Fulwell's *Like will to like* (cf. Chambers, III, 317).
- 1591 WILMOT, *Tancred and Gismund*. Played by the gentlemen of the Inner Temple before the Queen; cf. title-page (Greg, No. 104).
- 1592 MARLOWE, *Doctor Faustus*. I agree with those who put the play as early as 1588-89; I still find convincing the arguments that Greene was imitating Marlowe in *Friar Bacon* (ca. 1589) and that the Faustus ballad (*S.R.*, February 28, 1589) was inspired by the play.
- 1592 MARLOWE, *Edward II*. Again, 1591 seems to me too early, and the assignment of the play to the same year as *Doctor Faustus* is unthinkable.

- 1592 NASHE, *Summer's last will and testament*. That 1593 is too late a limit seems evident (cf. Chambers, III, 452-53).
- 1594 PEELE? (and CHAPMAN?), *Alphonsus*. This libel should not be perpetuated, and Chapman's name certainly ought to be quoted. List the author as "Anon."
- 1594 YARINGTON, *Two lamentable tragedies*. Quote the author's name (cf. Chambers, III, 518).
- 1600 MARSTON, *Jack Drum's entertainment*. Add "& others)" to the author entry (cf. Chambers, III, 454; IV, 21).
- 1601 CHETTEL, *The orphan's tragedy*. Add "or part of Yarrington's *Two Lancashire tragedies*["?]" (Chambers, III, 266, 518).
- 1601 "MIDDLETON" on t.-p. (probably DEKKER)," *Blurt Master Constable*. The title-page as given in Greg (No. 188) does not mention Middleton.
- 1601 ANON. "(by 'W. S.'; HEYWOOD, T.?)" *Thomas Lord Cromwell*. (1) I can see little reason for considering Heywood as a possible author (cf. Clark, p. 334). (2) Omit quotation marks around "Chamberlain's" (cf. title-page).
- 1602 CHETTEL *et al.*, *Love parts friendship*. Add to the title: "(Same as *The trial of chivalry*?)" (cf. Chambers, IV, 50-51).
- 1602 DEKKER, *II Lady Jane Grey*. (1) Add Heywood as a possible author. (2) Add "Parts may survive in *If you know not me*" (cf. Clark, pp. 31-32).
- 1603 GWINNE, *Nero*. The author's name is "Gwinne," not "Guinne."
- 1603 TOMKIS, *Lingua*. Why question "Trinity, Camb." (cf. the title-page of the edition of 1657, Greg No. 239, *fr*; Chambers, III, 498)?
- 1604 MARSTON, *The Dutch courtesan*. Cf. Chambers (III, 431) and Baskerville (*PMLA*, XXIV [1909], 718 ff.), who date this play 1603.
- 1605 MARSTON, *Parasitaster, or the fawn*. Following Stoll, list this play under 1606 (cf. Chambers, III, 433).
- 1607 JONSON. Add mention of the lost eighteen verses by Ben Jonson recited by the Angel of Gladness at a dinner given by the Merchant Taylors on July 16, 1607 (Chambers, III, 394).
- 1608 BARRY, *Ram Alley*. The author's Christian name is David.
- 1609 MUNDAY, *Campbell*. Following Greg (No. 282), remove the question mark after the author's name.
- 1609 "WEBSTER (& HEYWOOD?)," *Appius and Virginia*. Following Brooke and Clark (Chambers, III, 509), list the play as by "Heywood (& Webster?)." 1624
- 1611 COOKE, *Greene's tu quoque*. "Jo." or "Jo[hⁿ], -[shua?]" would indicate Cooke's first name more accurately. 1627

- 1612 WEBSTER, *The white devil*. The *terminus ad quem* can hardly be 1613, when the first edition appeared in 1612.
- 1617 DABORNE, *The poor man's comfort*. 1610 seems too early (cf. Chambers, III, 271-72).
- 1617 FLETCHER, *The mad lover*. Lady Anne Clifford saw the court performance of January 5, 1616/17 (cf. *Diary*, ed. V. Sackville-West [London, 1924], p. 47).
- 1619 "J. C." (JOHN CUMBER?), *Two merry milkmaids*. The author's initials on the title-page are "I.C."
- 1621 DEKKER, FORD, and ROWLEY, *The witch of Edmonton*. Add to the list of authors "(and other?)" (cf. Sargeant, p. 34).
- 1622 ANON., *Osmund, the great Turk*. I still find the arguments for believing this is not Carlell's play unconvincing (cf. also below, 1637, Carlell).
- 1623 FLETCHER, *The devil of Dowgate*. I see no reason for questioning the date of the license of this play previously allowed by Buc; though we might question the existence of the play itself (possibly, though hardly probably, the same as *More dissemblers besides women*), there is no reason to question Herbert's date.
- 1623 FLETCHER, MASSINGER, *The wandering lovers*. (1) "Generally accepted as the same as *The lovers' progress*" might be more revealing than "Probably same as *Lovers' Progress*." (2) It may also be the same as the play "Lasander & Callista" (cf. Bentley, I, 112).
- 1623 SHIRLEY, *The martyred soldier*. (1) A limit of 1620, even 1623, seems to me too early. (2) I should also assign the play to Queen Henrietta's company, i.e., after June, 1625 (cf. Bentley, I, 219, 256).
- 1623 ANON., *The black lady; The Dutch painter; The valiant scholar; The Welsh traveller*. (1) There is little reason to doubt the date of Herbert's license, 1622 (cf. Bentley, I, 205, n. 5). (2) *The Welsh traveller* is probably not *The Welsh ambassador* (Bentley, I, 175).
- 1624 BARNES, *The madcap*. Adams (p. 28) and George Chalmers (*A supplementary apology for the believers in the Shakespeare-papers* [London, 1799], p. 218) both record the licensing date as May 3.
- 1624 MIDDLETON, *A game at chess*. Licensed not in August but on June 12 (cf. F. P. Wilson, "Ralph Crane, scrivener to the King's players," *Library*, 4th ser., VII [1927], 209).
- 1624 Add the anonymous *The Spanish contract*, acted April 26 by the Lady Elizabeth's men in Norwich and preserved in no copy (Bentley, I, 197).
- 1627 ANON., *In ducem reducem*. Professor Bentley, who has examined the manuscript, tells me that this is not a play, not even a dialogue, but a three-page satire of about a hundred lines.

- 1628 FORD, *The queen*. Why question Ford?
- 1631 ANON., *The costly whore*. Assign to the period and repertory of the Red Bull Revels company of 1619-23 (cf. Bentley, I, 175).
- 1632 PERCY, *Necromantes*. The date on the manuscript is 1602, which Chambers (III, 464) and Reynolds (*MP*, XII [1914], 241) accept.
- 1633 NABBES, *Covent Garden*. List under and give limits as 1632 (cf. title-page).
- 1635 BROME, *The queen and concubine*. Why question the King's Revels company (cf. Bentley, I, 300)?
- 1637 CARLELL, *The fool would be a favorite*. Probably not produced by the Queen's company (cf. Lawrence, *TLS*, November 29, 1923, p. 820).
- 1637 CARLELL, *Osmond, the great Turk*. The license (cf. Lawrence, *ibid.*) leaves little doubt that this play ought to be listed under 1622 and that it was performed by the King's company.
- 1638 DAVENANT, *The fair favorite*. Why question the King's company (cf. Bentley, I, 120)?
- 1639 "J. D.," *The knave in grain, new vamped*. Evidently performed by the Red Bull-King's company (cf. Bentley, I, 282).
- 1639 ANON., *The world*. Identical with *The world tossed at tennis* by Middleton and Rowley (first edition, 1620) (cf. Bentley, I, 342)?
- 1639 Add the anonymous *The cardinals' conspiracy*, an old play revived on May 2, 1639, perhaps a tragedy, produced by the Red Bull-King's company and not preserved (cf. Bentley, I, 277-78, 282).
- 1646 BURROUGHS, *The fatal friendship*. To accept this play as belonging to the King's company before the closing of the theaters stretches the point no farther than many another entry does (cf. Bentley, I, 116).
- 1649 *New Market fair*. Ristine (pp. 219-20) records "The Second Part of the Tragi-Comedy, Called New-Market-Fayre, Or Mrs. Parliaments New Figaryes. Written by the Man in the Moon. Printed at you may goe look. 1649."
- 1667 "DENHAM, J. (completing PHILIPS, K.)," *Horace*. Why list this play under "Denham" and not under "Philips"?

The indexes are, in general, remarkably accurate except for their alphabetical order. I have, however, found a few corrections worthy of mention: P. 159: "Masque"; this is a fragment. P. 166: a cross-reference from "Broke" to "Brooke" would be helpful. P. 167: Why quote "Claretus"? P. 177: add "Vergerius, Paul, 1693" to refer to *The royal cuckold*. P. 181: add "Amyntas' pastoral, 1591" to refer to *Phyllis and Amyntas*. P. 183: "Becket, Procession, Thomas, Norwich" refers to the Thomas à Becket Procession in Norwich. P. 183: I find no record of the lost *The beggars*, protected for the King's com-

pany, August 7, 1641 (cf. Bentley, I, 65-66). P. 192: add "Death of Robert, Earl of Huntington, 1598." P. 193: add "Downfall of Robert, Earl of Huntington, 1598." P. 203: add "Himatia-poleos, 1614." P. 214: add "Montacute, see Montague." P. 223: "Robin Hood's Men, 1516" refers to no play in that year. P. 225: add "St. Susannah, 15th cent." P. 230: add "Three estates, 1540." P. 234: add "Verily [cf. Chambers, III, 476], see *Re vera*, 1599."

B

As for Shirley, I should add "Shirley?" to the authors of *The humorous lovers* (1667) and remove entirely Rivers' name from the 1692 edition of *The traitor*.¹⁵ Second, Harbage accepts the identity of *The brothers* with *The "Politique father"* (as he spells it), and so he does not question this alternate title or record the fact that some scholars have identified *The politic father* with *The politician* (1639); he certainly ought to question Shirley's part in revising *No wit, no help like a woman's* (1613); and the title of *The humorous courtier* (1631) is misspelled. I take greatest exception, in the third place, to Harbage's "Limits." Such objections may best be presented as a list:

- 1634 *The triumph of peace*. Add February 3, the date of production.
- 1638 *The royal master*. Produced in Ireland, this play must have been written before 1638 and probably after 1636.
- 1638 *St. Albans*. Because in the dedication of *The maid's revenge* Shirley refers to that tragedy as "the second birth in this kinde" and because it is likely that Shirley's first tragedy should have been in some way connected with either the town or the name-saint of the town where he taught school, extend the limits back to the first half of the twenties.
- 1639 *The gentleman of Venice*. Though certainly a Queen's company play, it was not licensed to them.
- 1639 *The politician*. Since this play may be identical with *The politic father*, the limits ought to include the date of the license, May 26, 1641.
- 1640 *The doubtful heir*. Extend limits back to 1637 or 1638, because produced in Ireland.
- 1640 *The Arcadia*. Without further proof the possibility still remains that this play was written as early as 1627.
- 1641 *The brothers*. The license date belongs to *The politic father*; *The brothers* may be identical with Shirley's play of the same name, licensed November 4, 1626.
- 1646 *The triumph of beauty*. The materials, organization, and style suggest 1640-46.
- 1653 *Cupid and Death*. Add the date of the performance, March 26.

¹⁵ The entry under 1692 marks merely a revival and not a new play at all. Although there are fairly extensive cuts in the quarto of 1692, there are no significant additions. It cannot in justice be included, even as an "Adapt. Shirley." I am indebted to my brother, John Carter, for this information.

Fourth, Harbage's classification of some of Shirley's works is not wholly acceptable: *The wedding* is a comedy, not a tragicomedy; and, if we consider *The brothers* of 1626 lost, then we have no evidence at all concerning its genre; but *The brothers* which survives is a romantic comedy, not a tragicomedy. And I think that a more significant designation of *The contention of Ajax and Ulysses* than "Contention" is simply "Entertainment."

Fifth, it is impossible to accept all the entries under "Auspices": *The brothers* of 1626 may equally well have been produced by the King's company as by the Queen's; *Changes* was probably performed by Prince Charles's men and not by the King's Revels (cf. Bentley, I, 301, 304-7); and, despite Harbage's theories concerning the origin of *The Arcadia*, he probably ought to record the fact that the title-page of the first edition says that it was acted by Queen Henrietta's company.

Finally, as to the dates of the first editions, the objections expressed above to the system of asterisks hold with Shirley. Thus, in the case of *The opportunity*, the absence of an asterisk, indicating a second issue or even edition, may be misleading because the second issue is so close to the first. But, should we accept Harbage's system, then no asterisk should follow the dates of *The royal master*, *The traitor*, and *The maid's revenge*, since they all appeared in a second (or variant) issue or edition. Conversely, I have found no record of more than one early issue or edition of *The contention of Ajax and Ulysses*, *The coronation*, *St. Patrick for Ireland*, *The triumph of peace*, *The politician*, and *A contention for honor and riches*; hence, the dates of these should be starred. Moreover, the date of the first edition of *The triumph of peace* would be more clearly presented as "1633 [i.e., 1633/34]," and the date of the first edition¹⁶ of *Honor and Mammon* is 1659, not 1658. The seventh column I have not checked.

Such *corrigenda*, I hope, will add something to an already valuable work of reference.

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¹⁶ I.e., the date of the general title-page; the individual title-page is undated.

BOOK REVIEWS

Introduction to the English language. By ALBERT H. MARCKWARDT. Toronto and New York: Oxford University Press, 1942. Pp. xvii+347.

Though it is not customary for *Modern philology* to notice textbooks, perhaps an exception may be made in the case of Marckwardt's work, since it may be of special interest to such of our readers as teach the history of the English language. Briefly, it provides a systematic plan for a course on English phonetics, the elements of modern English grammar, English vocabulary, and the history of the English language. The arrangement of the book is that just indicated, and the method throughout is inductive and develops new points by means of specific exercises. Typically, an exercise refers to a particular entry in Webster's *New international dictionary*, the *Oxford dictionary*, or a passage in a book by Sapir, Baugh, Jespersen, *et al.*, and asks the student to comment on it in some way. There are hundreds of such exercises, admirably conceived and of great pedagogical value. Unquestionably, a student who performed those exercises would have a far more exact understanding of modern grammar and the history of our language than one studying in the traditional way. The chief objections likely to be made to use of the book are its lack of flexibility (i.e., the teacher must follow the order of the book and cannot vary from it much except by omitting and adding exercises and, of course, expanding explanations) and the fact that the instructor himself must carry out the exercises—however extensive his knowledge of English, he cannot know what Webster or another reference says without looking it up. Perhaps the solution is an "answer-book" for teachers!

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The Didot Perceval: according to the manuscripts of Modena and Paris.

Edited by WILLIAM ROACH. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1941. Pp. ix+348.

One of the still unsolved problems of medieval literature is that connected with the name of Robert de Boron (or de Borron). About Robert and his work we know very little. He wrote a *Joseph d'Arimathie*, connecting the Grail legend with the biblical narrative, and a *Merlin*, connecting it with Arthur's court. The first of these and part of the second have survived "in approximately their original form." We have also prose versions of them, and in two manuscripts these are followed by a prose *Perceval* and *Mort*

Artu; and, since Robert had expressed the intention of relating the subsequent adventures of his characters, it is sometimes assumed that these last two works are prose versions of lost poems by him.

It is this prose *Perceval* which is the subject of the present study. It is usually called the *Didot-Perceval* because it was first discovered in a manuscript belonging to M. Ambroise Firmin-Didot; later another text, differing greatly but clearly representing the same version, was found in a manuscript in the Biblioteca Estense of Modena. Both texts have been printed—somewhat inaccurately, we are told—and their place in Arthurian romance has been discussed. It is generally recognized that these texts contain material which is also in the poem of Chrétien de Troyes and Wauchier; but some have seen this work as Chrétien's source, and others believe that both drew from a common fount. Dr. Roach does not accept either of these theories. He starts with the hypothesis of Dr. E. Brugger (whose assistance he gratefully acknowledges) and proceeds to work it out in detail, which Brugger did not do. Following Brugger's division of the story into episodes, Roach gives us an abstract of each episode, a comparison of the two texts, and a study of the material which finds a parallel (and he believes a source) in Chrétien or Wauchier. Eliminating this, we are left with a residuum which may come from Robert de Boron and which we can compare with Robert's known work and with the prose renderings of it. By this method Roach concludes that Robert did write a *Perceval* (now lost), which was turned into prose with the other branches; that this prose fell into the hands of an unskilled redactor, who inserted sections from Chrétien and Wauchier and at the same time omitted large sections of Robert's own work; that the Didot text is a careless and incomplete copy of a manuscript derived from this, while the Modena text, although more carefully written, has undergone still another recension. All this is suggestive, but it is hardly conclusive.

But the editor's main object, as he tells us himself, was to provide a reliable text, and it is by this text that the work must stand or fall. The reprint gives us what Roach believes the scribe of the Modena text intended to write—there can be no question of an author's text here—and the critical apparatus enables us to determine what he actually did write. The Didot text, which may bring us one step nearer the author, is so "extremely corrupt" that it is printed, practically without emendation, at the foot of the pages. This method, if accurately carried out, should give us a satisfactory text. How accurately it has been done is difficult to determine unless one has access to the manuscripts or photostats of them. Presumably it is accurate, since Dr. Roach is a competent and careful scholar. But even careful scholars have their lapses at times; and the discovery that Brugger's article which appeared in *Romanische Forschungen* in 1909 is four times cited with the date 1906

(pp. 4, twice, 114, and 132) and that the well-known scholar Eilert Löseth appears in the bibliography as "Einar Löseth" makes it seem desirable that someone should check this text for us.

JOHN J. PARRY

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Le Livre de seyntz medicines: the unpublished devotional treatise of Henry of Lancaster. Edited by E. J. ARNOULD. ("Anglo-Norman Text Society," No. 2.) Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1940. Pp. xv+244.

Toward the end of this elaborate devotional allegory, Henry of Lancaster states that, being English, his French may be none too good and that, having learned to write late and by himself, his writing may be faulty. It is to be feared that these possibilities are literally the truth and that from the linguistic standpoint his work is no more significant than are the errors a college student might make today. In orthography or syntax, verb forms or the use of the subjunctive, many things which seem at first sight to offer points of interest are probably to be explained as just plain mistakes. Similarly, from the point of view of literature, while the progress of the soul from sin to salvation follows a detailed parallel of the progress of the body from sickness to health, the elaborate anatomizing of each particular in its literal and figurative sense, the tedious repetitions, and the frequent digressions make the reading a difficult thing indeed. This is the more regrettable since scattered through the work one can find a number of interesting passages: observations containing a good deal of psychological acuity, meditations of considerable religious fervor, medical recipes and practices of curious complexion. Mr. Arnould has rendered a signal service to the reader by providing the text with a running marginal analysis which not only makes these highlights easier to find but also remarkably clarifies the whole diffuse organization of the work.

The circumstances under which this edition was published make an estimate of it somewhat difficult. The editor was called into service before all his critical material was in shape; consequently, we must suspend judgment on many points until the promised introduction, notes, and glossary appear. What we have in the present volume gives every appearance of being a careful, thorough piece of work.

Henry, first duke of Lancaster, composed his treatise in 1354, writing, as we may believe, a fairly short passage each day and sometimes interrupting his main design to introduce passages appropriate to particular days, such as those of the Lenten season. At the end, he dated his work and signed it in reverse: "ERTSACNAL EDCUD IRNEH." Two fourteenth-century copies, made independently of each other and designated by the editor as S and C, have preserved the work. Mr. Arnould follows S in his text, with emendations or

corrections from C in only a very few instances. Rejected readings of S and important verbal or orthographic variants of C appear in separate paragraphs at the foot of the page.

The text gives every evidence of being a meticulous transcription of the manuscript. Certain inconsistencies may have their reason in this fidelity to the manuscript and may find their justification in the critical apparatus. Among these I might mention the frequent forms *mes ge* (p. 7, l. 17) and *mesqe* (p. 54, l. 30), *puis ge* (p. 37, l. 6) and *puisqe* (p. 38, l. 17), *si ge* (p. 41, l. 16) and *sige* (p. 29, l. 13), etc.; *eawe rose* (p. 149, l. 10) and *eawerose* (p. 152, l. 33), *tout dis* (p. 152, l. 27) and *touldis* (p. 153, l. 28), etc.; *del amour* (p. 195, l. 4), *del eawe* (p. 195, l. 1), *del eir* (p. 210, l. 4), *but de l'eir* (p. 212, l. 24), etc. The scribe employs initial *ff* (cf. *ffortes* [p. 231, l. 1]), but the text prints *affaire* (preposition plus infinitive) *passim*. Numerals preserve the initial capitals presumably used in the manuscript as abbreviations: *Cent Mill* (p. 160, l. 23; p. 181, l. 20), but *Cent mill* (p. 138, l. 24). *Poure* is printed throughout *poure*. Although we find *privés* (p. 2, l. 3) and *pecchés* (p. 4, l. 4), the accent is lacking throughout on *apres*, *desormes*, *jammes*, etc.

The constitution of the text appears to have been done with judicious care. Some few cases still remain where the reading of C conclusively points to an error in S; among these I would mention page 5, line 13 (*l'eust* for *eust*), page 30, line 24; page 90, line 30; page 100, line 29; page 112, line 3; page 157, line 28; page 208, line 19; page 230, line 27. Conversely, I am of the opinion that the readings of S might well have been retained in the following passages: page 21, line 22; page 37, lines 2 and 3 (cf. p. 126, l. 31); page 44, line 19; page 51, line 6; page 80, line 23; page 131, line 7; page 205, line 13; page 220, line 27. In addition, it would seem that the orthography of S could have been followed in the cases where that manuscript has introduced a parasitic *i*: *mail* (p. 89, l. 25), *n'aid* (p. 181, l. 28; p. 209, l. 10), *n'ayd* (p. 192, l. 14).

More serious problems of constitution arise in three instances. The reading of S (p. 16, ll. 8-9) might possibly stand by emending *me se ge* to *mes ge*. In that event the semicolon in line 7 should be altered to a comma and a comma inserted after *choses* in line 8. The infinitive *d'estoper* (p. 150, l. 2) is justified by neither manuscript, and the reading *destopee* of C is fully satisfactory. Both manuscripts concur in the reading *la nettelé et bone vie* (p. 233, l. 30), and this expression gives as acceptable a sense as the emendation *la nette et b. v.*

Errors are minor and infrequent. Most of the following corrections are obvious: page 11, line 30, *Dieux* for *Sieux*; page 20, reverse numbering on notes 4 and 5; page 23, line 19, add single quote after *avant*; page 26, line 3, space after *ne*; page 30, line 16, note 6 refers to *feust*; page 45, line 31 (and subsequently), single quotes for double quotes (the double quotes at p. 5, ll. 10-11, should probably be deleted to conform to p. 1, l. 10); page 50, line 15, *Delit* for *delit*; page 55, line 6, comma after *Dame*; page 59, note 11 lacking;

page 107, line 24, *il* for *it*; page 147, note 8, *c.* refers to nothing in text; page 153, line 29, notes 6 and 7 should be 7 and 8 and the omission in the variants should be rectified; page 167, line 20, and page 231, line 30, dash for hyphen; page 167, insert note number before *estoiemes* in variants; page 211, line 8, *eidé* for *eide*; page 214, line 18, *mugé* for *muge*; page 224, line 4, space after *en*; page 226, line 25, comma for superscript 1; page 235, note 11 lacking; page 243, line 30, note 9 refers to *bone*.

BATEMAN EDWARDS

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Descartes: *Discours de la méthode*. Avec introduction et remarques de GILBERT GADOFFRE. ("Les Ouvrages de l'esprit: collection de textes dirigée par EUGÈNE VINAVER.") Manchester: University Press, 1941. Pp. xlv+96.

The text of the first edition of the *Discours*, which appeared at Leyden in 1637, is here reproduced with modernized spelling. A work so important in modern philosophy cannot, it might seem, be republished too many times; yet one could wish that the series to which this text belongs would adhere more literally to its claim of comprising works "choisis parmi les chefs-d'œuvre les moins diffusés de la pensée française." For the *Discours* has probably been printed in more low-priced editions than any other philosophical work written in French; this point would not need to be taken too seriously were it not for the genuine paucity of reprints of such outstanding products of French thought as Descartes's *Le Monde*, Arnauld's *Des vraies et des fausses idées*, even Malebranche's *De la recherche de la vérité*, and many others of equal importance. It seems to this reviewer that publishers and editors, especially those connected with a leading university, are under obligation to avoid the waste of duplicating materials already easily available at low cost, in many good, recent editions, when so many other important works which fall within the scope of their publishing aim are all but unavailable for general purchase.

The introduction to the present edition is based upon the polemical principle that "la plupart des études sur Descartes représentent des explications dans l'absolu d'un système qui s'est constitué dans le temps," and it is thus a conscious reaction against "la tradition de mépris pour l'histoire qui a longtemps pesé sur la critique philosophique." Applied to a work so autobiographical as the *Discours*, the genetic approach undertaken in this introduction might appear to have special justification. Yet it incurs the same failures of exegesis and of simple comprehension as befall the similar recent attempts at biographical criticism of the works of Aristotle, Kant, and other philosophers. Two main faults characterize such attempts and are reflected

in the present example. First, there is the fault of oversimplification—the failure to see or explore a concept, principle, or doctrine with sufficient detail of analysis to bring out its distinctive features. Thus Descartes's position undergoes the familiar characterization in terms of mathematical rationalism; but the precise characteristics of that rationalism, the nature of clear and distinct ideas as viewed by Descartes, the problems raised by his view and use of them—these questions are left unexplored by the editor, so that not only is his discussion of no benefit to the student who reads Descartes's philosophical works and looks for guidance with regard to their central concepts and procedures, but the picture drawn is in Descartes's own sense obscure, for it is so general as to apply with equal validity to Spinoza, Leibniz, Hobbes, and many other philosophers whose differences from Descartes were marked.

The second fault is the inverse of the first: the inaccuracy arising from failure to see the coherence of statements. Indeed, the present work sets forth a "patchwork theory" of the *Discours* as extreme and as unjustified as some of the notorious commentaries on the *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*. Thus Gadoffre takes issue with the procedure of Gilson's commentary "en présupposant constamment la cohérence parfaite et l'homogénéité du texte" and asserts instead that "il suffit de parcourir le *Discours* sans idées préconçues pour être frappé de l'arbitraire et de la bizarrerie du plan. ... Cette impression d'hétérogénéité se précise encore par le relevé des contradictions que l'on peut trouver d'un chapitre à l'autre. ..." Yet the incoherencies and contradictions disappear upon careful reading of the text in its own terms. For instance, the charge is made that the methodology of Part II is "inexplicablement interrompu par un chapitre de morale. ..." The sequence is inexplicable only if one ignores the context of the entire *Discours* and the distinctions Descartes sets up within it. In Parts I and II he has been insisting upon the necessity of a fresh start in science and recounting the autobiographical steps which led him to this position. But this raises the question whether the scientific universality which he has been emphasizing extends as well to the sphere of moral practice: Shall a fresh start be made there as well? Part III shows that an affirmative answer would jeopardize the entire project and hence sets forth a "provisional morals" for the interim of scientific and philosophic reconstruction. The sequence is not merely plausible but takes account of a necessary part of Descartes's entire program.

The other problems raised by Gadoffre can be solved in similar manner. The historical approach to philosophers and philosophies is a legitimate branch of intellectual history. But when it sinks so deeply into historicism as to obscure the lines of the internal coherence of philosophical doctrines, it becomes a serious hindrance to sound insight.

ALAN GEWIRTH

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Un Voyageur-philosophe au XVIII^e siècle: l'abbé Jean-Bernard Le Blanc. Par HÉLÈNE MONOD-CASSIDY. ("Harvard studies in comparative literature," Voi. XVII.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941. Pp. xv+565.

Mrs. Monod-Cassidy's book is primarily an edition of the correspondence of the abbé Le Blanc, for the most part hitherto unpublished. Of the letters here presented (the full texts of one hundred and eleven and notices or summaries of eight), the majority are addressed to President Bouhier, but there are a half-dozen to Hume¹ (whose *Political discourses* Le Blanc translated in 1754) and a few to other correspondents. Most of the letters fall in the period 1728-42—though the correspondence extends to 1780—and give a lively picture of the literary life of Paris; thirteen are written from England in 1737-38, a decade later than Voltaire's memorable visit, and show at first hand how Le Blanc gathered material for his most important work, the *Lettres d'un François concernant le gouvernement, la politique, et les mœurs des Anglois et des François* (La Haye, 1745).

The correspondence is preceded by a long biographical sketch, easily the best life of Le Blanc now available. Mrs. Monod-Cassidy corrects a number of long-standing errors, such as the date of Le Blanc's birth and the period of his English sojourn, and she gives us at last an accurate account of the affair between the Duke of Kingston and Mme de la Touche, in which Le Blanc played an important role. Particularly good is the sketch of Le Blanc's relations with President Bouhier, a situation reminiscent of that between Swift and Sir William Temple—though Le Blanc had neither the personality nor the literary talents of Swift.

Le Blanc, il faut le dire, est le type du déclassé qu'une forte culture classique a élevé au dessus de son milieu et qui reste toujours gêné par son manque d'éducation; sentant amèrement ses limites et se méprisant lui-même en secret, il se rend peu à peu méprisable par une humilité qui semble fausse et outrée [p. 9].

Mrs. Monod-Cassidy prints the texts of the letters without modernization or normalization of spelling and punctuation. Since the originals are inaccessible in this country, one is unable to judge how accurately the letters are printed; but the transcriptions seem to be carefully done.² One of the letters, No. XXV (April 15, 1734), has recently been reproduced elsewhere from the same manuscript, with important divergences from Mrs. Monod-Cassidy's transcription.³

¹ Excerpts from five of the letters to Hume were printed by John Hill Burton (*Life and correspondence of David Hume* [Edinburgh, 1846], I, 458-62).

² The following seem to be misprints in the letters: p. 134, l. 3; p. 177, l. 3 from bottom; p. 182, l. 9; p. 188, l. 7; p. 272, l. 2 from bottom. Other typographical errors are to be found on pp. 84, 484, 498, 511, and 524.

³ See G. Bonno, "Un Texte inédit de l'abbé Leblanc sur les *Lettres philosophiques* de Voltaire," *MLN*, LV (1940), 503-5.

Annotation of such letters as these is difficult,⁴ since Le Blanc picked up all sorts of gossip in Paris and London and his correspondence is filled with anecdotes, quotations, news of books and plays, and comments on personalities of every degree of importance. Mrs. Monod-Cassidy errs perhaps in the direction of fulness, and her notes are consequently a repository of information drawn from unusually wide reading.⁵ In general the letters written from England are less fully annotated.⁶ Fuller comparisons might have been made throughout between the letters from England and Le Blanc's later *Lettres d'un François*—not only for particular incidents, such as the story of the courier who joined in the fox-hunt (Letter LVI, and *Lettres* XLVI) but also for the comments on English manners, politics, and authors.

The importance of Le Blanc as an agent in the dissemination of English thought in eighteenth-century France was noted in this journal a number of years ago,⁷ and the letters here printed make available to the student a great deal of additional and valuable material bearing on this subject. It is not so apparent that Le Blanc merits the epithet *voyageur-philosophe*, since the abbé's interests were mainly in belles-lettres; he never aligned himself clearly on the side of the *philosophes*. But his letters are readable and important, on both the English and the French literature of his day, and they deserve the careful editing which Mrs. Monod-Cassidy has given them.

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⁴ Mrs. Monod-Cassidy's very full notes are difficult to use because of their awkward position at the back of the book, with references not to pages in the text but to chapter headings or numbers of the letters. Since this book is in no sense designed for a popular audience, one can only wonder at the shortsightedness of such an arrangement.

⁵ P. 134: The English work referred to is probably Blackwell's *Enquiry into the life and writings of Homer* (1735). P. 384: "Le Malheur de Paméla" would seem to refer not to Boissay's production (March 4, 1743), which had thirteen performances, but to Godard d'Aucour's play, *La Déroute des Paméla* (December 25, 1743), which Le Blanc says "se jolle encor" (cf. Bernard Facticeau, *Les Romans de Richardson sur la scène française* [Paris, 1927], pp. 28–29). P. 443: Warton's *Essay on . . . Pope* should be dated 1756. P. 473: Marguerite de Lussan's *Comtesse de Gondés* appeared in 1725. P. 498: For the title of Bentley's edition of Cicero see *History of the works of the learned*, XI (March, 1709), 175. P. 500: Thomas Morgan's *Moral philosopher* was published in 1737 (cf. *London magazine*, February, 1737, p. 111). P. 509: Le Bossu's *Traité du poème épique* dates from 1675. P. 520: The Comte de Caylus' *Les Écossaises* was published in 1739.

⁶ There is no note on the marriage of Glover to a lady of fortune (p. 274) or on the unsavory incident which Le Blanc describes in his letter of May 4, 1737 (for an account of this see the *London magazine*, April, 1737, p. 219).

⁷ George R. Havens, "The abbé Le Blanc and English literature," *MP*, XVIII (1920), 423–41.

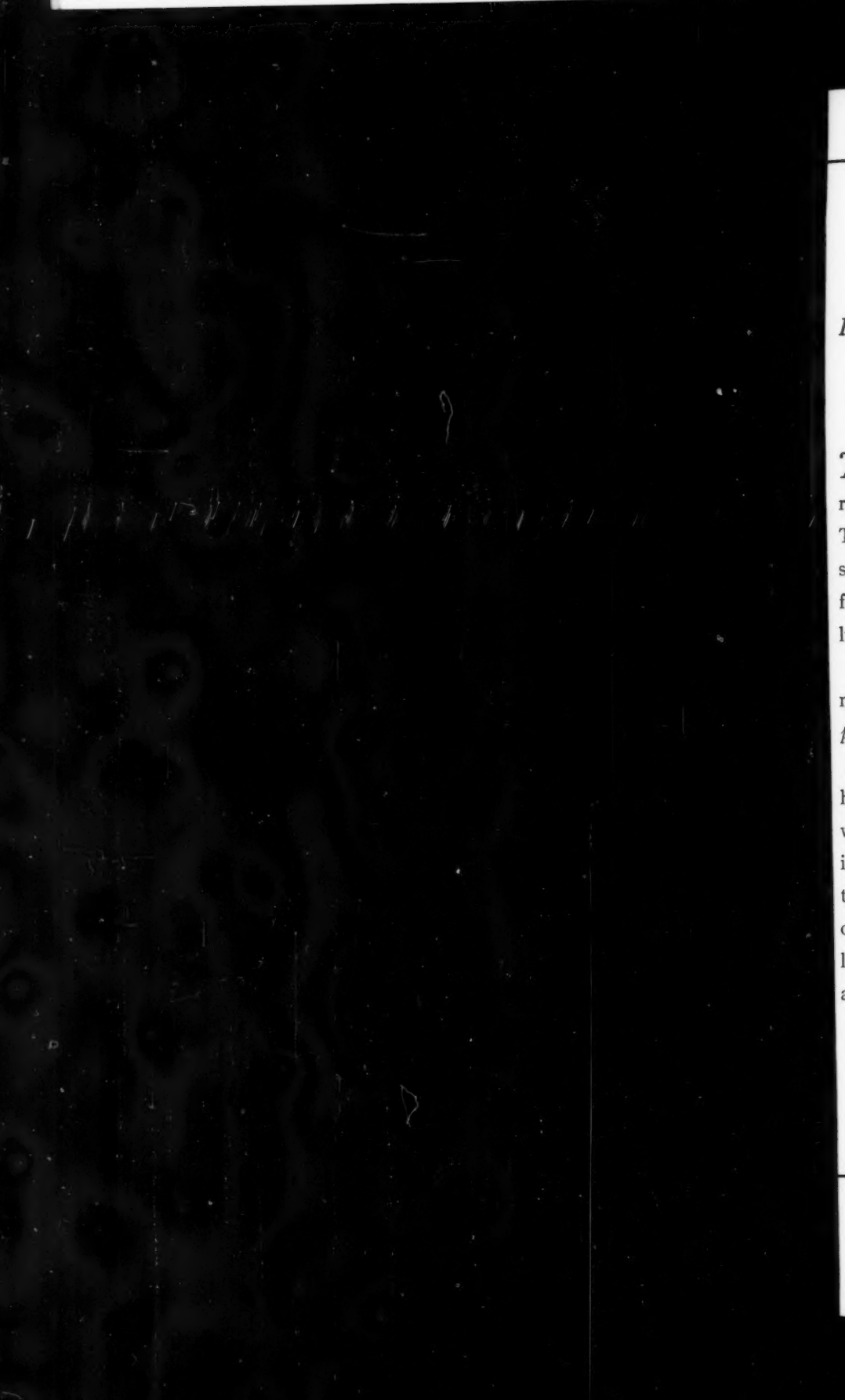
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EDITOR'S NOTE

IN EXPLANATION OF OUR NEW FORMAT

* * *

THIS ISSUE introduces a double-column page, designed for easier reading as well as for economy, in line with wartime necessities. The actual saving is very substantial, and the editor feels that scholarship will be better served by using all available money for the publication of research than for such typographical luxuries as wide margins and "white space."

We wish to assure our readers that while the journal is thinner and contains fewer pages, over the year *it will contain approximately the same amount of material* as formerly.

Academic, and especially scientific, journals, which formerly had world-wide support, face a serious struggle for existence with the discontinuance of many foreign subscriptions. Indeed, it is to be expected that many learned journals will be among the casualties of the war. To avoid this danger, to maintain our editorial standard for quantity as well as quality of publication, we adopt this more economical format, while hoping and believing that you will also find it more readable.

THE EDITOR